

The Adams Papers

ROBERT J. TAYLOR, EDITOR IN CHIEF



Diary of John Quincy Adams



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Volume 1

November 1779-March 1786

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THE ADAMS PAPERS

Series I: Diaries

Diary of John Quincy Adams

Volumes 1 and 2

November 1779–December 1788

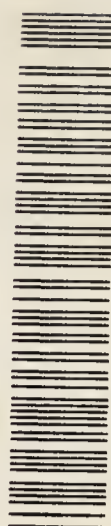
These volumes begin the publication of the greatest diary, both in mass and substance, in American history. Recording a span of sixty-eight years, it has been known heretofore only in partial form. When, over a hundred years ago, Charles Francis Adams edited his grandfather's diary, he chose to omit "the details of common life," reduce "the moral and religious speculations," and retain criticisms of others only if they applied to public figures "acting in the same sphere with the writer."

Now the diary is being published complete for the first time. Starting with the entries of a twelve-year-old, the present volumes cover John Quincy Adams' formative years—his schooling and travel abroad, study at Harvard, and the first months of training for the law. Adams' six years overseas with his father took him to a half dozen countries, with lengthy stays in Paris, the Netherlands, and St. Petersburg. On his return he stayed for a time in New York, making the acquaintance of influential congressmen. To finish preparing for college, he lived with an aunt and uncle in Haverhill, caught up in a round of social activities. Entering Harvard with junior standing in the spring of 1786, he graduated in fifteen months.

As Adams matured, diary entries became less a dutiful response to a father's request and more a record of the young man's perceptive observations and reflections—and thus a rich source for social history. There are accounts of playgoing in Paris, evenings with Lafayette and Jefferson, the diversions of rural New England, apprenticeship in a Newburyport law office. And through the eyes of a serious but not unbending student we are given a picture of Harvard in the 1780s.

Candid opinions of preachers, writers, men of affairs, and family members accompany the closest self-scrutiny. Here is a remarkable record of the passage from adolescence to manhood of a precocious and sensitive boy torn by self-doubts and driving himself to fulfill his promise and his parents' expectations.

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ROBERT J. TAYLOR, EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Diary of John Quincy Adams



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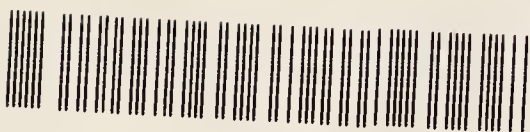
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The acorn and oakleaf device on the preceding page is redrawn from a seal cut for John Quincy Adams after 1830. The motto is from Cæcilius Statius as quoted by Cicero in the First Tusculan Disputation: *Serit arbores quae alteri seculo prosint* ("He plants trees for the benefit of later generations").

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Descriptive List of Illustrations

1. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS BEGINS HIS DIARY, 1779 4
The titlepage and the first page of entries are from John Quincy Adams' earliest extant Diary, cited as D/JQA/1 in the code used by Adams editors to indicate individual Diary booklets. The title was revised from that on the front cover. The meaning of the large capital letters (WORL) and the smaller letters in the margin and in the upper left-hand corner has not been determined; they do not appear in the text of the Diary. The design scrawled by Adams along the bottom of the titlepage is repeated throughout the early Diaries.
From the original in the Adams Papers.
2. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' COVER DESIGNS FOR HIS SECOND DIARY BOOKLET, 1780 24
For the paper cover of D/JQA/2 Adams drew this winged figure, probably male, standing on a pedestal; beside it he scrawled an abstract design of almost equal height. He included no titlepage. The back cover, showing soldiers and sailors, guns, cannons, a fort, and a ship, may have been drawn from scenes Adams witnessed in northern Spain or southern France on his journey from Bilbao to Bordeaux. Imaginative sketches of this sort are not found in his Diaries after this date.
From the original in the Adams Papers.
3. "SAW THE SHIPPING WHICH MADE A GRAND APPEARANCE" 33
These sketches of ships, characteristically named the *Frightful* and the *Horrid*, and the two rows of stick figures engaged in combat suggest a young mind fired by imagined military and naval exploits, perhaps conjured up as Adams viewed the scene at the Bordeaux waterfront. The drawings appear in D/JQA/2 on the last page and on the inside of the back cover. This Diary booklet concludes with a description of the harbor.
From the original in the Adams Papers.
4. FRANCIS DANA, BY SHARPLES, POST 1794 90
Francis Dana, a Boston lawyer, served John Adams as secretary to the peace commission and as chargé d'affaires. John Quincy Adams

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accompanied him to St. Petersburg as a companion and private secretary in 1781, when Dana was appointed minister to Russia by the Continental Congress. Adams remained with him for over a year, while Dana tried repeatedly and without success to gain recognition from the court of Catherine the Great. In 1787, when Adams was a student at Harvard and heard that Dana had suffered a stroke, he wrote revealingly: "To me, he has been a second father, and his instructions, though too much neglected at the Time when he gave them, have since been more attended to; and have at least check'd some of my failings, and were calculated to reform them entirely." After a slow recovery Dana resumed his distinguished career as judge and later Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Years later John Quincy Adams christened his third son Charles Francis in remembrance of his deceased brother Charles and "as a token of honor to my old friend and patron judge Dana." The pastel portrait of Dana reproduced here is by either James or Ellen Sharples, or both of them, and was painted sometime after 1794 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 15:204–217; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:191; JQA, *Diary*, 10 March 1787, below; 13 Sept. 1807; Katharine McCook Knox, *The Sharples: Their Portraits of George Washington and His Contemporaries . . .*, N.Y., repr. 1972, p. 94–95).

Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Victor Notarangelo.

5. "I WAS ALWAYS . . . ADDICTED TO BOOKS BEYOND . . . BOUNDS OF MODERATION."

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John Quincy Adams' voracious appetite for and preoccupation with books, which he obtained on his frequent travels, led him from an early age to devise methods of identifying his acquisitions. Before he began to use bookplates, he often embellished his books with his signature and the date of purchase and occasionally forewarned any would-be thief. An example of this is found in his copy of John Clarke's *Introduction à la syntaxe Latine pour apprendre aisément à composer en Latin . . .*, Paris, 1773, translated into French by Noel François de Wailly, in which the business label of L. C. R. Baudoin of Lorient has been mounted on the page facing Adams' statement of ownership. The book was purchased during his first trip to Europe in 1778–1779.

John Quincy Adams' first bookplate appears in books purchased after he returned to Europe in late 1779. Designed and executed by hand, it is designated "Book-Plate A" in Henry Adams 2d's note on "The Seals and Book-Plates of the Adams Family" (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*, p. 135–136). The copy illustrated here, from his set of Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Oeuvres*, 5 vols., London, 1753, vol. 1, shows the elaborate book numbering system Adams devised. The number 17 in the upper right corner distinguishes each set of volumes purchased, while the number in the lower left corner (56–60, in this set) was placed to record each separate volume in his library. This ambitious and cumbersome scheme was soon discarded.

Descriptive List of Illustrations

Adams' second bookplate ("Book-Plate B"), which he probably began to use in 1783, was based on the coat of arms of the family of John Adams' mother, the Boylsons. See the descriptive note, *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:xv-xvi, and illustration facing p. 381. To the coat of arms, John Quincy Adams added the boughs framing the shield and the ribbon at the bottom, meant for a motto, though none was used. "Two Copper plates for the Arms and Name, J.Q.A." were recorded among the inventory of his belongings in 1784 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*, p. 138; [Christian Lotter], Inventory of JQA's books, 6 Nov. 1784, Adams Papers).

When Adams abandoned his second bookplate for a third, designated "Book-Plate C" by Henry Adams 2d, he patterned it after one designed by his father. Like Bookplate B, it is based on the Boylston coat of arms; the shield is slightly modified, and the roundels are filled in with two lions and a fleur-de-lis. Above the shield, the lion holds the cross in a different position. The shield is encircled with a garter bearing a motto taken from lines in Tacitus' *History* (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*, p. 138-140).

Although it is impossible to tell exactly when John Quincy Adams began to use each of his bookplates, they are occasionally useful in helping to date the purchase of books. Internal evidence shows that he used Bookplate A on books bought between 1780 and 1783; many books with the little-used Bookplate B were added to his collection in 1786 or before. Bookplate C appears in many volumes bought in Russia in 1781 and 1782 and those purchased when he returned to Europe in 1794. Presumably Bookplate C was affixed at a later time to books obtained in Russia.

The quotation about John Quincy Adams' addiction to books comes from the long autobiographical sketch he sent to Skelton Jones in April 1809 (JQA, *Writings*, 3:298).

Courtesy of the U.S. Department of the Interior—National Park Service, Adams National Historic Site, Quincy, Massachusetts.

6. VIEWS OF ST. PETERSBURG

120-121

Founded by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century, St. Petersburg was built along the Neva River and its tributaries and on islands near its mouth, where it empties into the Gulf of Finland in the eastern Baltic. The bottom engraving shows a view of the Neva, with the Admiralty on the left bank and, directly opposite, the Academy of Science. The Academy, which John Quincy Adams occasionally visited during his first sojourn in the Russian capital, was located in Vassilyostrof quarter, an island in the Neva, and near much of St. Petersburg's commercial district. Well endowed with a large faculty and an extensive natural history, geological, and art museum, the Academy derived considerable income from the publication and sale of books, almanacs, court calendars, and gazettes.

The Admiralty, seen from a different perspective in the illustration on the upper left, was a rectangular structure with a gilt spire.

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Surrounded by earthen ramparts, it was "remarkable," one foreign visitor thought, "for nothing but its ugly appearance." Nevertheless, in close proximity to most of the principal royal and governmental buildings, its immediate environs were "the centre of amusement and business, the brilliant resort of pleasure and fashion." It was not far from here that Dana and young Adams first took lodgings when they came to the Russian capital. The Admiralty was also the geographical center of the city, most of which was on the left or southern bank, and it was from this point that three long, straight streets called Prospects ran out in various directions, like radii, to the outskirts of the capital.

The most important of these was the Nevski Prospect, which headed southeast about five miles to the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. The view on the upper right shows this broad avenue at about midpoint, looking back toward the heart of the city. In the foreground is the Annitskoi (or Anitschkov) Palace and the Fontanka River, one of several older rivulets at this time being made into canals, which formed irregular concentric semicircles radiating out from the Admiralty and dividing the city into distinct quarters. The Nevski Prospect was lined with the grand houses of "the great and the opulent" and contained many hotels and shops filled with "a constant bustle" unknown in other quarters of the city.

The views were drawn by Louis Nicolas de Lespinasse and engraved by François Denis Née and Claude Niquet. All of these illustrations come from an untitled volume containing views, maps, tables, charts, and pictures of Russians in native costumes which was owned by John Quincy Adams and is now in the Stone Library at the Old House in Quincy. It is undoubtedly a companion "Atlas" to Nicholas G. C. Le Clerc's *Histoire physique, morale, civile et politique de la Russie ancienne*, 3 vols., Paris and Versailles, 1783–1784, and *Histoire physique, morale, civile et politique de la Russie moderne*, 3 vols., Paris and Versailles, 1783–1785. Both sets are among Adams' books at Quincy, and the first volume contains, as does the Atlas, the business label of the St. Petersburg bookseller Etter, from whom Adams purchased them while he was minister there. A number of references throughout Le Clerc's volumes indicate that these plates were to be reproduced as a separate volume. Harvard has another edition (*Histoire . . . moderne*, 1783–[1794]) of these volumes, given by John Quincy Adams to the college on 29 September 1797, when he was minister plenipotentiary to the court at Berlin (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 53, 297–301, 324–344, 38–39, 29, 20–22, 43–44; Bénézit, *Dict. . . . des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*).

Courtesy of the U.S. Department of the Interior—National Park Service, Adams National Historic Site, Quincy, Massachusetts.

7. THE VARIÉTÉS AMUSANTES, PARIS, 1786

Founded in 1778 or 1779, the Variétés Amusantes moved in 1785 from the Boulevards to the Palais Royal, where its new home was built on a site known today as the Parterre d'Enée. Although the actors included such renowned performers as Volange, the come-

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dies and other productions were, in the words of John Quincy Adams, "calculated to please the mob," like those of many small Paris theaters of the time. "I wonder how people of any delicacy, and especially Ladies can frequent" this theater, he wrote in his Diary. "The plays acted have seldom much wit, and almost universally are very indecent." While other, more established theaters were virtually deserted of patrons, these were "always crowded, though they present nothing but low buffoonery, and scurrility. O tempora, O mores!" Despite his moralizing, Adams attended performances here and at similar theaters throughout the remaining months of his stay in Paris. This illustration is from a group of engravings called "Les Délices du Palais-Royal," in the Hennin Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Max Aghion, *Le théâtre à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, [1926], p. 279–282; Howard C. Rice Jr., *Thomas Jefferson's Paris*, Princeton, 1976, p. 16; JQA, Diary, 4, 10, 17 Jan. 1785, below).

Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

8. THOMAS JEFFERSON, BY JOHN TRUMBULL, 1787 223

In early 1785, during the few months that John Quincy Adams remained in Paris after Jefferson's arrival, the young man came to borrow books and spend evenings with the new minister, "whom I love to be with," he recorded in his Diary, "because he is a man of very extensive learning, and pleasing manners." Even forty years later, John Adams recalled the influence that Jefferson had over John Quincy Adams at a time when the elder Adams referred to him as "our John" because, he told the Virginian, "he appeared to me to be almost as much your boy as mine."

Trumbull, who had returned to London in 1783 to resume his studies with Benjamin West, had gradually turned his interest from classical subjects to events and personalities of American national history, and Jefferson, whom he met in 1785, "encouraged me to persevere in this pursuit." The following year and again in the fall of 1787 Trumbull spent some time in Paris with Jefferson, and it was on the second trip that he painted the minister's portrait. Regarded by one authority as Trumbull's "most successful portrait of the statesman" and the model for numerous copies, it became part of the detail in the original small *Declaration of Independence*. The portrait shows the Virginian's own fine natural reddish hair instead of a powdered wig (JQA, Diary, 16 Feb., 11 March 1785, below; JA, *Works*, 10:414; *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist, 1756–1843*, ed. Theodore Sizer, New Haven, 1953, p. 92–93, 152; Fiske Kimball, "The Life Portraits of Jefferson and their Replicas," *Amer. Philos. Soc., Procs.*, 88:501, 503, 505 [Dec. 1944]).

Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

9. THE COMÉDIE ITALIENNE, PARIS, CIRCA 1780S 229

Established in 1716 and a royal troupe from 1723, the Comédie Italienne, or Théâtre Italien, as it was also known, had originally begun with an Italian repertory but gradually worked in French

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comedies and plays until, by the late 1770s, it was Italian in name only. The merger of the Comédie with the Opéra Comique in 1762 allowed it to present, in addition, light and comic operas, interspersed with musical plays and parodies, all of which had become fashionable in Paris during the final decades of the ancien régime. It was here, as well as at several other Paris theaters, that John Quincy Adams attended numerous performances with his family, Jefferson, and other Americans from 1783 until his departure for America. Some plays, such as Sedaine and Grétry's *Richard Coeur de Lion*, which he saw on 2 March 1785 at the Comédie Italienne, made such "an indelible impression" that Adams was able to recall lines and sentiments from the production 45 years later. In 1783 the Comédie moved from the Hôtel de Bourgogne to a new home, shown here, designed by royal architect Jean François Heurtier. The rear of the building was on the Boulevard; two new streets, the rue Favart and rue Marivaux, were cut along its sides; and the front of the theater faced a small square. After removal to its new quarters, the company experienced several profitable seasons, then struggled throughout most of the rest of the century. It disbanded in 1801 (Clarence D. Brenner, *The Théâtre Italien: Its Repertory, 1716–1793, With a Historical Introduction*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 63 [1961]: 1–35; JQA, Diary, 7 Nov. 1830, *Memoirs*, 8: 247).

This engraving by Née, after the work of Jean Baptiste Lallemand, is from Jean Benjamin de Laborde and others, *Description général et particulière de la France . . .*, 12 vols. [called *Voyage pittoresque de la France . . .*, after vol. 4], Paris, 1781–[1796], vol. 10, *Monuments de Paris et des environs*, plate no. 75.

Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum.

10. THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, BY JOSEPH BOZE, 1790

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After the Marquis' return to France from America in January 1785, John Quincy Adams dined regularly at the home of Lafayette, who "entertained all the Americans every Monday." Adams recorded with unusual detail one of his conversations with the Marquis in which the Frenchman severely criticized his peers. Adams concluded that he spoke "somewhat openly and freely for a french nobleman," adding "perhaps he thought that among Americans, he could freely speak his mind without any danger." On Adams' return trip to America several months later, he carried with him important letters and documents for various Americans from the Marquis, especially the whale oil proposals to aid New England merchants who were now without a market because of the war with Great Britain.

This portrait of Lafayette was commissioned by Thomas Jefferson after his return to the United States. In a letter to his close associate William Short on 6 April 1790, Jefferson wrote that "my pictures of American worthies will be absolutely incomplete till I get the M. de la fayette's." Short selected as painter Joseph Boze, who

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had done many portraits and miniatures of the royal family and other leading Paris personalities, and who Short later said had "taken by far the best likenesses of the Marquis." When completed, it cost Jefferson 16 guineas, 3 1/2 more for the gilt frame, and 12 livres for packing for shipment to America. After Jefferson's death most of his paintings were sold at public sales in New York and Boston to help clear up his debt-laden estate. Two years later this painting was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the widow of John W. Davis, a federal district court clerk and son of John Davis, president of the Society, 1818-1835 (JQA, Diary, 4, 9 April, 9 May 1785, below; Jefferson, *Papers*, 16:318; 18:32, 356; Bénézit, *Dict. . . . des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*; Mabel M. Swan, *The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873*, Boston, 1940, p. 34, 85-89; Boston *Daily Evening Transcript*, 18 July 1833; MHS, *Procs.*, 2:16).

Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

11. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' RETURN TO AMERICA, JULY 1785 291

Beginning with the entries of 1785, the John Quincy Adams Diary went beyond the random and occasionally embellished jottings of the earlier period. Although the Diary booklets previous to 1785 show some gradual transition to more disciplined summaries of daily activities and begin to reveal Adams' thoughts and views, major changes in appearance and style occurred when he began D/JQA/10 on 1 January 1785, as is shown by the entry illustrated here, written with a consistent hand in well-thought-out prose. In August 1783 Adams purchased three blank, leather-bound books, which eventually became Diaries 10, 11, and 12; but it was another year and a half before he resolved to keep a consistent, day-by-day record. Then he began to write in his first permanent book for diary-keeping purposes, rather than rely upon the small booklets or folded sheets he had hitherto used.

From the original in the Adams Papers.

12. CITY HALL, NEW YORK, THE RESIDENCE OF CONGRESS FROM 1785 TO 1790 302

In December 1784, when the Confederation Congress resolved to hold its meetings in New York, the New York Common Council offered, and Congress accepted, use of City Hall, located at Broad and Wall streets. Congress convened in January 1785 and continued to meet there until 1790, when, as the United States Congress, it moved to Philadelphia. Congress gathered on the second floor of the east wing. In 1787 a visitor described the chamber as filled with richly carved mahogany tables and chairs and adorned with portraits of Washington, some slain general officers of the Revolution, and the King and Queen of France. Only days after arriving in New York in July 1785, John Quincy Adams found it impossible to refuse the offer of President Richard Henry Lee to live at his house during

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his New York stay. For a month Adams was a center of attention among congressmen, foreign consuls, and families of New York society. Barely eighteen years old, he dined or walked nearly every day with men from the North or South, sharing his views on politics and Europe.

This view of City Hall, New York's second, which was completed in 1704, was adapted from a sketch by David Grim. It depicted the structure as it appeared ca. 1745–1747 and was drawn from memory in 1818 after its demolition. The adapted sketch is in David T. Valentine's *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York for 1856*, N.Y., 1856, facing page 32. Except for a small, crude drawing by Du Simitière, ca. 1769, it is the only complete sketch showing the building before it was altered by L'Enfant in 1788, to become known thereafter as Federal Hall. A third story was added in 1763 (I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 6 vols., N.Y., 1915–1928, 1:272; 3:538, 863; 5:1219).

Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society.

13. THE PARSONAGE OF THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH OF HAVERHILL

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This late-nineteenth-century photograph, the only known extant view, shows the house in which John Quincy Adams' uncle and aunt, the Reverend John and Elizabeth (Smith) Shaw, lived while Shaw served as minister of the First Church from 1778 to 1794. It was here that Adams spent the fall and winter of 1785–1786 preparing himself, under the tutelage of Shaw, in Greek and Latin, for admission to Harvard. Built in 1773, the house remained the parsonage until it was sold in 1831. It was demolished in 1908. The portico, pillars, and door were probably added in the middle nineteenth century. In a view of Haverhill drawn ca. 1815 by a Mrs. Green, published in *The Saltonstall Papers, 1607–1815*, ed. Robert E. Moody, MHS, *Colls.*, 81: facing 326, the house without these additions is seen near the top of the hill on Main Street and opposite Shaw's Church, the third building of the First Parish Church (1766–1837). The size and elegance of the parsonage reflected the wealth that the town had garnered from inland and coastal trading before its post-war decline (Letter from Howard W. Curtis, Curator of Special Collections, Haverhill Public Library, 8 Nov. 1978, Adams Papers Editorial Files).

From the Haverhill Collection, Special Collections Department, and Courtesy of the Trustees of the Haverhill Public Library.

Introduction

I. THE MANUSCRIPT

John Quincy Adams began his Diary when he was twelve, “upon embarking on board the French Frigate *la Sensible*, at Boston” on 12 November 1779.¹ The last journal entry in his own hand was made on 24 December 1847, a little more than 68 years later. The actual Diary, which remains on the shelves of the Adams Papers, consists of fifty manuscript pieces, of which ten are gatherings of stitched, pinned, or loose sheets, some with covers; ten are printed almanacs or annual registers in which journal entries were written on blank pages; and thirty are volumes of varying size bound in calf or vellum.²

Stupendous as the Diary is in its scope and mass, full journal entries were not made with regularity throughout the period the diary was kept. In fact, the Diary consists of entries of differing kinds: full and complete entries, notes for entries, and line-a-day or abbreviated entries. From 1 January 1795 to 6 May 1821 there is a full entry for each day without interruption, an extraordinary diaristic achievement. For briefer periods, each of more than a year’s duration, full entries were also made: 1 January 1785 – 23 August 1788, 1 February 1827 – 24 June 1828, 1 January 1829 – 24 March 1832, 5 July 1832 – 26 December 1834, 17 March 1839 – 30 September 1845. The periods of unbroken full entries add up to 43 years and 6 months. In addition, over 2,900 complete entries, the equal of eight years, are found in periods for which sequence was less rigorously maintained.

Of the days and months lacking full entries, by far the largest portion are represented by abbreviated entries; a much smaller number, by notes clearly intended for expansion into full entries. In the closing years of the Diary a few periods have no entries of any kind.³ Adams resorted to the short or line-a-day

¹ JQA, Diary, 26 July 1816 (*Memoirs*, 3:407).

² Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel Nos. 4–52.

³ 28–31 Jan., 22 Feb., 6 March 1836; 1–29 March 1837; 12 Jan.–16 March 1839; 20 Nov. 1846–31 March, 26–31 May, 12 June–6 Aug. 1847.

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entries as substitutes for complete ones primarily in the earlier years, before he had settled into persistent and habitual journal-keeping.⁴ Later he used them to piece out gaps during 1821, 1823–1825, and 1835. The notes for entries occur mainly during times of heavy public responsibilities. When he was secretary of state and woefully in arrears with his journal, he wrote:

My physical powers sink under it. . . . I had hoped to keep this as a minute and circumstantial record of my share in the affairs of my country while I continue a member of its Administration. I must renounce this hope, and content myself with a mere abridgement of memoranda in future. In summer I can barely keep pace with the current of events. In winter, during the sessions of Congress, one indispensable occupation succeeds another, which absorb the morning hours, and leave me none for the daily narrative of yesterdays.⁵

The “memoranda,” or notes for entries, begun shortly afterward, continue for parts of each year following to the end of his term as president in 1829. They resume in 1832, at the start of his service in the Congress, and at intervals from 1834 to 1838.

Beyond utilizing shortened entries as expedients when he found it impossible to complete the full record, Adams also, during numerous and extended periods, wrote such entries along with and in addition to full journal entries. The purpose seems to have been to perfect the technique of the abbreviated and condensed entry in the expectation that shortly he would be physically unable to write at length. We learn from a passage written late in his life, just after Adams had dislocated his right shoulder in a fall in the House of Representatives, that he had experienced since childhood continuing difficulties with his writing hand:

I . . . could scarcely refrain from repining at the peculiar untowardness of the disability . . . of my right arm. One of the first questions asked me by Dr. May was whether the shoulder had ever been dislocated before. I had no recollection of any such event; but remembered having been told by my mother that when a child two or three years old, I was straying out into the street, when the Nursery maid ran out after me, and seizing me by the right hand, gave it an involuntary sudden jerk and dislocated the shoulder. My right hand has consequently I suppose upon this early disability been weaker than the left all my days.

⁴ In 1783 and from 1788 to 1794.

⁵ Diary, 20 March 1821 (*Memoirs*, 5:334).

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Always unable to write fast, and for the last twenty-five years unable to write at all as other men do with the forefinger and the thumb. My right hand has been many times further disabled by casualties of various and different kinds against all which I have struggled to the utmost of my ability, considering it as the business and duty of my life to write.⁶

The fear that he might have to curtail the daily stint is apparent intermittently from his early years. In 1788, after more than three years of unbroken entries, Adams writes of “an indisposition which for two months has prevented me from writing. . . . I will not however immediately drop all memorials of my transactions; but the remainder of this volume will probably contain a space of time as long as that recorded already in more than two volumes and an half.”⁷ In 1816, five years before the twenty-six-year sequence of full entries is broken, he muses on adopting a “practice which I now expect will be my last resort”:

The increasing difficulty that I experience in writing with my own hand, has sufficiently convinced me that it cannot be long before I shall be compelled either to cease keeping this Diary altogether, or of reducing within the smallest compass the record of every day. The idea occurred to me, of beginning to keep a separate minute; allotting one line to every day, and by an arrangement which would give one page to every Month.⁸

Despite his recurrent complaint that, burdened as he was with the discomfort of writing, he would soon face the need to curtail or cease diary-keeping in his own hand, Adams continued the Diary without resort to amanuensis until 30 September 1845. One day earlier, in an unusually cramped hand, he had made note of a “paralytic affection which disables me from writing,” and on the 30th he recognized that “the total disability to write with my own hand compels me to discontinue the daily journal of my life.” Thereafter, the entries in the manuscript are in the hands of amanuenses to 31 August 1846.⁹ Then, once more,

⁶ Same, 20 May 1840.

⁷ Same, [24 Aug.–2 Sept.] 1788.

⁸ Same, 26 July 1816. This project, of undertaking for the future an “Index” to his Diary, he began on 1 July 1816 and continued without break until 3 Dec. 1835. In the same month he commenced a “retrospective Index,” or line-a-day epitomes of earlier journal entries, which he com-

pleted for the periods 1 Jan. 1795–12 May 1801 and 5 Aug. 1809–July 1816. He devoted a separate volume (numbered 23 among the volumes of the Diary of JQA in the Adams Papers) to these line-a-day epitomes.

⁹ Except for one sentence in his hand in the entry for 20 Oct.

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by strength of will, he kept his journal in his own hand to 17 November. For each of the two days following, he began the entry but had to abandon it. The next day he suffered his first cerebral hemorrhage. The dictated entries do not resume until 1 April 1847 (continuing to 4 January 1848). In the interim, however, he did persist in daily "minutes" or brief entries in his own hand that he had begun on 1 May 1846 and would continue, with the omission of some days, until 24 December 1847.¹

The variations in the physical character of the manuscript volumes and in the kinds of entries that constitute the Diary of John Quincy Adams differ markedly from his retrospective view of how his journal should have been maintained:

A page a day and rarely two pages have been my continual task but the keeping of a diary that I would recommend would be Quarto volumes of one size of 500 pages each—every page divided by two red lines into 3 equal parts. The entries to be made in abridged style and form of memoranda, never to exceed or fall short of one third of a page. Each volume to contain the record of 4 years. In 60 years this would make 15 volumes of 500 pages each—quite enough for the autobiography of one man.²

The variations perhaps seem to confirm what has been said of the Diary, that it was kept in a disorderly fashion. That description is justified only for particular periods and does not reflect habit. For the periods during which Adams was able to complete full journal entries on successive days, all the entries are made in due sequence within an ordered series of volumes, the integrity of each being observed without exception. Adams' employment of more than one volume at a time for entries during a span of any length, thus introducing "disorder," marks three periods of the Diary: the years before he settled into a strict routine, 1788–1794, when he kept entries in one set of volumes and abbreviated entries in almanacs; the later years of his secretaryship and the years of his presidency (1821–1829); and his first years as congressman (1832–1839). In these last two spans, when the

¹ In addition, there are fuller entries in JQA's hand for 14 and 20 March 1847, which he designated "Posthumous Memoir," and retrospective entries for 8–12 Feb. 1847, apparently written on 7 April 1847. The last entry in his hand, that of 24 Dec. 1847, is followed in the Diary volume

by three poems in his hand, two of them dated 20 Feb. 1848, one day before his seizure on the floor of the House and three days before his death.

² Diary, 7 Nov. 1842 (*Memoirs*, 11:266–267).

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stresses of office were greatest, Adams had to select for a given entry one of three volumes he had in current use—one for full entries, one for abbreviated ones, and one for notes that were to be expanded and transferred when time permitted. From time to time during these periods he wrote the Diary notes in volumes which he also used for various memoranda: lists of visitors, dinner guests, members of the Congress, artists to whom he had sat, lands to be surveyed, newspaper titles, his published and unpublished writings; commentaries on Bible passages; notes on his reading; population statistics, election returns, meteorological observations, metrical versions of Psalms, poems; inventories of clothing, of the content of trunks; indexes to his letter-books; and the like. There are five such volumes among the fifty that constitute the Diary, four of which bear the word “Rubbish” on their spines.³

Given the variety of entries and the several ways in which they were kept, it is not surprising that Adams himself wrote that the Diary entries for the years preceding 1795, written on “loose sheets, Sybil leaves, interleaved Almanacks, and motley volumes of all sizes, are many of them lost.”⁴ Probably a number of these that Adams was unable to locate at any given time and that were “lost” to him during his lifetime were packed away in one or another trunk kept in Washington or Quincy. Much was submerged among the mass of his papers that were not brought into order until after his death, or left, while Adams was abroad for long periods, in the custody of his brother Thomas Boylston Adams or another.⁵ Yet despite almost limitless opportunities for losses, the evidence suggests that when Charles Francis Adams had completed the analysis and arrangement of his father’s papers in preparation for their publication, no manuscript volume in which John Quincy Adams had made diary entries had failed to survive.⁶ The only clearly identifiable losses are of some entries made in a single loosely bound volume. There, leaves containing parts of the entries for 8, 11, 12, 27 July and 17 August 1781 and all the entries between these last two dates are

³ They bear the Adams Papers designations: D/JQA/33, 47, 48, 49, 50. The numbering system employed by Charles Francis Adams for the Diary volumes is somewhat different.

⁴ Diary, 26 July 1816.

⁵ Same.

⁶ The Adams editors are understandably reluctant to be more positive on the point. See JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1: xlii and JA, *Earliest Diary*, p. 1–2.

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missing. When the leaves disappeared is not clear, but in April 1911 Worthington C. Ford noted in the manuscript that they were missing.⁷

2. EARLIER USE AND PUBLICATION OF THE DIARY

John Quincy Adams began keeping a diary or journal because of his father's repeated urging. The ends to be served were the perpetuation of "many observations that I may make," the recollection of "both persons, and things, that would other ways escape my memory," and the cultivation of "patience and perseverance." These were the objectives with which John Adams had begun *his* journalizing. In consequence, L. H. Butterfield believes that the father regarded his Diary as a private and impermanent record: "The text of the Diary is almost wholly free of indications that the writer supposed anyone, including himself, would read it later." To the young John Quincy Adams, however, a diary's usefulness was not alone as a "means of improvement to myself," but as a source of interest and entertainment to others, though he admitted that the journal of a "Lad of Eleven years old, Cannot be expected to Contain much of Science, Literature, arts, wisdom, or wit." What may have been the earliest use of the Diary for the edification of others came less than a year after he made his first journal entry. His older friend John Thaxter Jr. recorded that "He sends me now and then small portions of his Journal," and in acknowledging to the diarist one such "Continuation," wrote that by it, "You have refreshed my Memory encore."⁸

At first the Diary was essentially a travel journal in which John Quincy Adams recorded what he had observed, a number of persons perhaps being allowed to see extracts. Only when the entries began to include reflections and opinions on persons or events did he enforce a stricter privacy. Gradually, as he matured and entered upon a lifetime of public service, the Diary assumed its fundamental character, that of a daily record of occurrences so full and faithful that it would be accepted as a valid reference. As the controversies that marked his career mounted,

⁷ D/JQA/4, p. 113-114, 127-128, 149-156. See note to entry for 8 July 1781.

⁸ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:92-

93, 412-413, 418; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1:lxiv-lxv.

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Adams repeatedly had recourse to the Diary for substantiation. This is manifest from the several lengthy extracts made by amanuenses during his life that relate to disputed matters and survive in the Adams Papers. Yet those that remain are but specimens of more frequent usage. In the course of one disagreement, he wrote: "I thought it advisable to have extracts from [my diary] made.... As a copy must be made by an entirely confidential hand, my wife undertook the task. She has often assisted me in the same manner before."⁹ Adams' custom of resorting to the Diary to buttress his testimony is particularly well-documented in the papers bearing upon the suit of Levett Harris *v.* William D. Lewis for libel filed in 1821.¹ In the course of the action Adams several times had to respond to interrogatories before appointed commissioners and to submit affidavits. Believing it "indispensable to the ends of justice that I should answer fully and explicitly, ... I am re-examining all my papers having reference to these transactions, to bring all the facts as fresh as possible to my recollection." At the conclusion of his search, he had extracts from the Diary made and introduced them as "vouchers" for the facts asserted in his testimony.² In the Adams Papers are 24 pages of these extracts, of which those for the years 1810–1812 are docketed by the commissioners as received in evidence.³ When the commissioners permitted Calhoun to read parts, he reported to Adams that he "saw the benefit of keeping a diary."⁴

Ten years later Calhoun, then vice-president, perhaps remembering that earlier impression, provided the occasion for another

⁹ Diary, 15 Jan. 1831 (*Memoirs*, 8:277).

¹ Harris, American consul at St. Petersburg during Adams' ministry there, later chargé d'affaires, and in 1817 a candidate himself for the ministry, was publicly charged by Lewis with malfeasance in the performance of his duties. In rebutting the charges, Harris cited letters from Minister Adams approving his work. Adams, having afterward become aware of Harris' venality, found himself chargeable also: "I was very slow and dull of sight, even before admitting in my mind a *suspicion* against Harris's integrity.... And even after becoming convinced ... I was still unwilling to expose him." Only when Harris' appointment as minister was being weighed did Adams reveal his knowledge to the President and secretaries Calhoun and Crawford. And when Adams' views

became known as at least an indirect source for Lewis' public accusations, Harris averred that Adams' earlier views destroyed the validity of the later ones (Diary, 11 March 1821; *Memoirs*, 5:328–329). For a full account, see James B. Rhoads, "Harris, Lewis, and the Hollow Tree," *American Archivist*, 25 (1962): 295–314.

² Diary, 11, 18 March, 3, 4 Nov. 1821 (*Memoirs*, 5:328–329, 330, 382–383).

³ Extracts from entries for 19 Sept., 11, 27 Oct. 1810; 12 Aug. 1811; 2, 18, 23 May, 3, 4, 6, 7, 17, 19, 22 June, 9, 11, 20, 29 July 1812; 3, 12, 14, 16, 28 Nov., 3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 19 Dec. 1817. The extracts are in Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel Nos. 410, 440 (under the dates 19 Sept. 1810 and 3 Nov. 1817).

⁴ Diary, 6 Nov. 1821 (*Memoirs*, 5:387).

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recourse to the Diary. The issue, important to President Jackson, was whether Calhoun or William H. Crawford or both had supported, in meetings of President Monroe's cabinet in 1818, the effort to discipline the then General Jackson for having exceeded his authority in invading the Spanish province of Florida. The position Adams had taken in the meetings was also in dispute. Confronted by requests from Calhoun and Crawford for confirmation, Adams had extracts made for them of those Diary entries that related to the Seminole War and to the cabinet discussions about it. Reflecting that both men had earlier cooperated to effect his ruin, Adams nevertheless thought it his duty "to discard all consideration of their treatment of me; . . . to conceal nothing which it may be lawful to divulge, and which may promote truth and justice between the parties."⁵

Even as his life neared its end, John Quincy Adams continued under the necessity of defending his public acts, relying heavily upon his Diary. Once more he was pitted against Jackson, on this occasion over the annexation of Texas to the Union. The necessity for Adams' making a detailed defense arose from a communication from Jackson to Aaron Vail Brown, U.S. representative from Tennessee, 12 February 1843, and from Vail's letter to the *Washington Globe*, 21 March 1844. The charge had to do with Secretary Adams' conduct of the negotiations with Spain in 1819 that culminated in the Florida treaty, in which the Sabine River was accepted as the western boundary of Louisiana, and hence of the nation as it then was. Jackson claimed that Adams had deliberately neglected to consult him, a consultation to which his position and knowledge entitled him and one which President Monroe had requested. Adams saw the claim as "a fable [fabricated] to justify the robbery of Texas from Mexico, by the pretense that Texas had been by me treacherously surrendered to Spain." In his view, "The Florida Treaty was the most important incident of my life and the most successful negotiation ever consummated by the Government of this Union. And this is precisely selected, above all others, as an engine for the total destruction of my good name."

⁵ Same, 14, 15 Jan. 1831 (*Memoirs*, 8:274-277); see also *Memoirs*, 1:ix. The controversy is summarized in CFA, *Diary*, 3:406-407, 428. Public airing came with the publication of parts of the correspon-

dence, including extracts from the Diary (but without identification as such) in *Niles' Register*, 40:11-45 (5-19 March 1831).

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Adams determined to reply at length. He chose as his vehicle an address to the Boston Young Men's Whig Club on 7 October 1844. In it he undertook to vindicate himself and "to expose to the world and to after-times the infamous means used to accomplish the annexation of Texas." In preparation he combed the Diary and had his nephew Walter Hellen copy extracts from entries of 1818–1820. These copies, now in the Adams Papers, come to 78 manuscript pages.⁶ From them Adams was able to demonstrate conclusively that he, contrary to Jackson's assertions, did consult with Jackson to obtain his opinion on the proposed boundary, that Jackson had expressed no objection to the proposed boundary at the Sabine, and that Jackson's interest at the time was centered upon Florida, not Texas. In the Address, which was printed and reprinted within the next few weeks, Adams quoted to great effect the diary entries of 1–3 February 1819.⁷

After John Quincy Adams' death, Charles Francis Adams initially responded freely to requests for extracts from his father's Diary with a view to their public use. The first such request of which there is a record came in only a few months from John Adams Dix, U.S. senator from New York. Dix wished to quote, in a speech on the Wilmot Proviso, the adverse opinion Adams had expressed on the slavery compromise in the ordinance of 1787. Charles Francis, enclosing transcripts of the entries for 3–6 March 1820, wrote:

I know of no reason why the information should be suppressed. If there be anything in these Extracts which may serve the public at this time, it will give me great pleasure to have you make use of it.

My father's position that Slavery cannot be established by Congress in a country where it does not exist, though it can be prohibited seems to me to be the true ground upon which to battle with all the schemes of compromise afloat that surrender that principle.⁸

Dix used the extracts on 26 July in a speech in the Senate on the

⁶ Diary, 27 Sept., 2, 3, 7 Oct. 1844 (*Memoirs*, 12:78, 81, 84). The extracts are drawn from entries of 23 Oct. 1818–2 March 1819 and 31 Jan.–28 Feb. 1820 (Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 530).

⁷ *Boston Daily Atlas*, 9 Oct., p. 2, col. 3–8; *Niles' Register*, 67:105–111 (19 Oct.);

Quincy Aurora, 31 Oct., p. 1, col. 1, p. 2, col. 2. The printer's copy in JQA's hand (36 p.) is in the Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 530.

⁸ To John A. Dix, 14 July 1848, LbC (Adams Papers).

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bill to establish territorial governments in Oregon, California, and New Mexico.⁹

Publication had unexpected consequences. A year and a half later, 22 January 1850, Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, speaking on the same issues but to a different end, quoted at length from the passages Dix had used. His denunciation of John Quincy Adams' sentiments made it clear that Adams' death had not lessened the intensity of partisanship. Averring that public access to portions of the Diary would add nothing to Adams' "claims (and they are many)" on the good opinion of the citizenry, Cass lashed out at Adams' view that the compromise on slavery by which the Constitution was adopted was "morally and politically vicious" as an opinion "no right-minded American" could hold. This led him to a savage characterization of Adams, and a censuring of that "member of his family" who by permitting the quotation had exposed the statesman's weaknesses.¹

The incident gave clear warning to C. F. Adams that by allowing others to quote from the Diary he exposed his father's name to the same accusations that had marked his life and rendered himself, as the protector of his father's reputation, chargeable. That he long felt the full force of the unpleasantness is evident in his response to Thomas Hart Benton's request in 1857 for permission to use and quote in the *Abridgement of Debates of Congress* passages from the Diary in 1821 bearing on cabinet discussions of the actions of Andrew Jackson as governor in West Florida. Identifying the Dix-Cass episode as decisive, Adams wrote Benton that thereafter he had refused repeated requests to permit any publication and that he presently allowed reading

⁹ *Congressional Globe, Containing the Debates and Proceedings, 1833-1873*, Washington, 1834-1893, 30th Cong., 1st sess., App., p. 1177-1183; the Diary extracts are at p. 1179. The speech appeared subsequently in John A. Dix, *Speeches and Occasional Addresses*, 2 vols., N.Y., 1864, 1:346-382.

¹ "Strong prejudices, not to say bitter ones, and a temperament often ill-regulated and always excitable, too frequently interfered . . . with that calm investigation, so essential to the exercise of a correct judgment. This contemporaneous record of his feelings and opinions exhibits these traits . . . in bold relief, . . . a melancholy proof that a vigorous intellect may

be overshadowed by strange aberrations, and rendered useless and sometimes dangerous by wayward views . . . and maintained with characteristic tenacity and with little respect for the opinions of others."

"How often has the memory of distinguished men been injured by the zeal of indiscreet friends, who, instead of going backward with a garment to cover them, reveal their infirmities to the curiosity of the world? . . . Better that it had been entombed, like the ancient Egyptian records, till its language was lost, than have been thus exposed" (*Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., App., p. 69). See also JQA, *Memoirs*, 5:12, note.

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of the passages needed, but with the stipulation that there be no quotation nor citation of source. In offering Benton a transcript, he insisted upon its return without a copy's being made.²

Other applicants for the use of the Diary included William H. Seward, Josiah Quincy, Charles Sumner, and Bancroft Davis. Adams granted each request, it appears, with stipulations similar to those made to Benton. The biographies of John Quincy Adams written by Seward and by Harvard's President Quincy bear evidence that the authors had consulted the Diary—but neither contains lengthy or significant quotation from it.³ Sumner's interest was satisfied with a reading of extracts relating to the origin of the Monroe Doctrine; Bancroft Davis' request was for "information of the mode of opening the commission at Ghent in 1814."⁴

The Dix-Cass misadventure was not the only cause of the more restrictive conditions C. F. Adams came to impose upon use of the Diary. As early as 1853, he was himself considering publishing somewhat extensive extracts from the Diary. The difficulties faced were in deciding what parts could be published and whether any should be during his lifetime.⁵ Both his reluctance to permit others to publish extracts and his own hesitancy arose partly from fear that their appearance in print would raise demands "for explanations, and further elucidations, that might end in a premature publication of the most delicate portions of that record."⁶ Charles Francis Adams was inhibited also by his commitment to completing the editing of his ten-volume *Works of John Adams*, 1850–1856. Then, after little more than a year, he assumed an active role in public life—in the Congress and as minister to Great Britain—that would not

² Benton to CFA, 13 Oct. 1857; CFA to Benton, 20 Oct. 1857, LbC (both in Adams Papers). The transcript of excerpts from entries of 23 Oct.–3 Dec. 1821 was sent on 3 Nov., was subsequently returned, and is now in the Adams Papers.

³ William H. Seward, *Life and Public Service of John Quincy Adams*, Auburn, N.Y., 1849; CFA, Diary, 5 April 1854; Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams*, Boston, 1858. Quincy was able to say in a prefatory note (p. v), "derived . . . from authentic unpublished materials." In his Journal (3 Nov. 1855), Quincy records that on his own handling

of the student rebellion of 1834 at Harvard: "Until I had the reading of [JQA's] diary, I never understood the malignity with which I was assailed, nor the laborious zeal with which I was defended by Mr. Adams" (CFA, *Diary*, 5:371–372).

⁴ CFA, Diary, 15 Nov. 1855; 21 Feb. 1871.

⁵ "The early portion . . . is harsh upon others in a manner which his own later judgment would have disapproved" (CFA, Diary, 15 Jan. 1853; 5 April 1854).

⁶ CFA to Thomas Hart Benton, 20 Oct. 1857, LbC (Adams Papers).

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end until 1868. In that interval, however, he did return to the study of the Diary and employed an amanuensis, Dr. Steele, to copy those selections he had made for publication. Adams had not decided at this juncture whether to publish the Diary alone or with materials from his father's correspondence.⁷ It appears, too, that by 1860 he had faced up to the likelihood that he could not look forward to an early return to editing.⁸

Throughout his tenure as minister in London, Adams retained a sense of obligation unfulfilled, and when he returned to America he resumed editorial labors. He devoted the early months of 1870 to reading the Diary and to formulating plans for an edition. With the decision made to focus upon his father's *public* life, he entered into correspondence in April with J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia publishers. He was then, with the copying not yet half finished, unable to predict the length of the projected work. After a year it seemed measurable, but of "fearful" size, even allowing for "extensive reduction." Lippincott remained cordial, suggesting that terms and decisions await clarification of procedures. As a way to avoid the limited sales to be expected in a publication of this magnitude and to stimulate interest in the larger work, the publisher suggested beginning with a two-volume abridgment. Adams' conception, however, was that his edition should offer "permanent materials for the history of half a century," convinced, as he was, that the Diary was unique in the record it established. The issue was settled when the "leading statesmen" sounded out by Lippincott agreed with Adams' position. Bowing to this opinion, the publisher announced in the firm's "Monthly Bulletin of New Publications" the impending publication of the Diary covering the years 1795–1848, and in "Our Monthly Gossip" offered a seductive sample—the entry for 11 December 1814 recording conversation at Ghent among the Peace Commissioners. An introductory statement promised that the editor's selection from the "mass"

⁷ CFA, Diary, 18 Feb.–18 May 1858 *passim*. At a much later time, he dated the initiation of his work on the Diary as in 1856 (CFA to J. B. Lippincott & Co., 12 July 1877, LbC, Adams Papers).

⁸ The conclusion derives from a conversation reported by CFA2 (*Autobiography*, N.Y., 1916, p. 68) with two of his father's friends: "General Nye asked me about my grandfather's diary, *when* would

it be published, etc? Seward seemed to think *it a dangerous experiment*; and expressed a hearty concurrence in my remark that the great thing concerning *that* diary was 'Who was to edit it?' For on the editor must depend *the great question of extracts*, and the light in which the diarist would be shown. 'Nothing,' said he, 'is so dangerous to the reputation of a public man as a diary.'"

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would include "whatever must have a permanent value" and would, when published, run to five or six volumes.⁹

Here a new cause for delay arose—Adams' appointment in August to the tribunal on the *Alabama* Claims to convene at Geneva. Despite Lippincott's offer of a contract, along with a proposal to put the first volume in print before his departure, Adams ultimately concluded to postpone any publication until his return. His official responsibilities and other commitments kept him away from scholarship longer than he had anticipated. Not until the summer of 1873 did he feel free to sign the deferred contract and to resume steady work on the Diary.¹

Meanwhile, during C. F. Adams' absence abroad, Henry Adams, relying upon the announcement that the Diary would commence at 1795, and with apparent knowledge of his father's editorial plans, published in the *North American Review* some excerpts from the Diary written during his grandfather's years as a student at Harvard College, 15 March 1786 – 24 May 1787. The passages, interspersed with commentary, were not presented chronologically. An essay-review of two small volumes on Cambridge and Harvard in earlier days by T. C. Amory and Edward Everett provided the occasion and excuse for including the Diary excerpts. Henry Adams nowhere in the article mentioned that the student who kept the diary was John Quincy Adams.²

Charles Francis Adams' far larger editorial enterprise, when resumed, progressed rapidly. Before the end of September 1873, Lippincott had in hand copy for the first volume, with publication scheduled for January. By the end of 1874 three volumes had appeared, and Lippincott dispatched a fourth to Adams early in January 1875. However, the four volumes had brought the diarist only to February 1820. With the length of the work still estimated at five or six volumes, the publisher was led to

⁹ CFA to Lippincott, 20 April 1870, 4, 19 April, 12 May 1871, all LbC's; Lippincott to CFA, 10, 24 April, 15 May 1871; both issues of Lippincott's announcements are enclosures in Lippincott to CFA, 3 July 1871 (all in Adams Papers).

¹ Martin B. Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807–1886*, Boston, 1961, p. 384–388. CFA to Lippincott, 12 Aug., 16, 25 Sept., 18 Oct. 1871; 7, 28 July 1873, all LbC's; Lippincott to CFA, 18 Aug., 21 Sept., 4 Oct. 1871; 9, 31 July 1873; "Monthly Bulletin," Nov. 1873 (all in

Adams Papers). Publishing arrangements as detailed in this correspondence provided, among other things, that manufacturing costs and profits would be shared equally between publisher and author, that 750 copies would be printed, that the price per volume would be five dollars to subscribers, six to others.

² *North American Review*, 114:110–147 (Jan. 1872). The excerpts, with somewhat reduced commentary, were later published in Henry Adams, *Historical Essays*, N.Y., 1891, p. 80–121.

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inquire whether the editor had "any idea how many more volumes the work is likely to make." But Lippincott's persistent requests to Adams for more copy indicated no loss of appetite for the enterprise.³ There were no undue delays, although Adams was discovering that providing the necessary annotation required more time and effort than he had anticipated.⁴ Three additional volumes appeared in 1875, Volumes 8–11 in 1876, and the final volume with index in 1877. Relations between editor and publisher remained cordial throughout. Adams, on receiving the balance (\$1,051.50) due him, wrote Lippincott: "I trust that I need not express to you how pleasant has been the relation I have had with you . . . and how faithfully the work has been carried through on your part, considering its magnitude. With such assistance I should be led to regret that instead of finishing my last labor, I was not recommencing upon my first."⁵

Charles Francis Adams' mood, as he came to the end of his long editorial labors on the works of his father and grandfather was exultant: "Justice will at last be done by posterity to the men who had hard measure when alive." Evident also was a profound sense of release: "Eighteen years have passed away since the will of my father laid this heavy responsibility upon me. I am at last my own Master again."⁶ His conviction that he was so obligated is made no less real by our awareness that the facts were otherwise. The will of John Quincy Adams makes no allusion to publication of the Diary, nor indeed to the Diary itself (Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 607). In what was apparently the last conversation between father and son on the subject of the Diary, Charles Francis recorded that John Quincy Adams "said that his Diary was closed, he should never write any more of it. He should place it in my hands to do with it what I might think proper, at the same time, distinctly stating that it had never

³ CFA, Diary, 6 July–23 Sept. 1873 *passim*; 19 May 1874; CFA to Lippincott, 22 Sept. 1873, LbC; Lippincott to CFA, 26 Sept., 4 Nov. 1873; 13 Jan., 13 Feb., 9 March, 2 April, 8, 25 May, 18 June, 6 July, 13 Aug., 3 Sept. 1875 (all in Adams Papers).

⁴ "Almost at every step there appears something to explain. The investigations which follow are precisely what I like best

of all literary occupations" (Diary, 19 July 1873); "Diary . . . needs more annotation than I can make without a greater consumption of time and space than would be prudent. . . . Yet the labour is a pleasure" (same, 28 Aug. 1873).

⁵ 7 Aug. 1878; see also same to same, 12 July 1877, both LbC's (Adams Papers).

⁶ CFA, Diary, 30 Aug. 1876; see also, same, 12 July, 10 Aug. 1877.

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been written for extended publication and it was not his wish that such publication be made.”⁷

This position is consistent with what John Quincy Adams had maintained over the years. Upon examining John Adams’ Diary, he had written: “The journal is . . . deeply interesting to me . . . but altogether unfit for public inspection, and such as ought to be reserved from all eyes but those of affectionate descendants. My own Journal will be of the same character.” Of that Journal and its disposition, he was later more explicit but to the same purpose: “I have already more volumes, and multitudes of fragments—Trash inexpressible, which I pray to God may never be exposed, but which I leave to my Son to be used according to his good judgment for a memoir of my life; and if, by the Mercy of God, the manuscripts should be preserved, to be left, with those of my father, to one of my grandsons who may be worthy of possessing and passing them down to further generations.”⁸

C. F. Adams came to believe that he had a mandate to publish the Diary, but also that he was committed by his father’s wishes and his own to reserve from public scrutiny matter that he judged to be private. The methods by which he proposed to resolve these aims that were not altogether consonant are made manifest in his Preface to the *Memoirs*:

The chief objects to be attained by publishing the papers of eminent men seem to be the elucidation of the history of the times in which they acted, and of the extent to which they exercised a personal influence upon opinion as well as upon events. . . . [I]n the present instance there remains a record of life carefully kept by John Quincy Adams for nearly the whole of his active days, and in condition so good as but to need careful abridgment to serve the purposes above pointed out. . . . Assuming this to be certain, it became necessary to fix upon a rule of selection which should be fair and honest. To attain that object I came to the following conclusions: 1st. To eliminate the details of common life and events of no interest to the public. 2d. To reduce the moral and religious speculations, in which the work abounds, so far as to escape repetition of sentiments once declared. 3d. Not to suppress strictures upon contemporaries, but to give them only when they are upon public men acting in the same sphere with the writer. . . . 4th. To suppress nothing of his own habits of self-examination, even when they might be thought most to tell against himself. 5th. To abstain altogether from

⁷ Same, 19 Jan. 1847.

⁸ JQA, Diary, 30 July 1826; 7 Nov. 1842 (*Memoirs*, 11:266–267).

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modification of the sentiments or the very words, and substitution of what might seem better ones, in every case but that of obvious error in writing. . . . I have confined myself strictly to the duty of explanation and illustration of what time may have rendered obscure in the text. Whatever does appear there remains just as the author wrote it.⁹

Comparison of widely separated sections of the text of the *Memoirs* with that of the manuscript Diary justifies the conclusion that C. F. Adams conformed unexceptionably to the rules he had set.¹ This is also the judgment of the late Samuel F. Bemis, who reported that "constant searching behind the *Memoirs* into the Diary, . . . has yielded little new historical matter." One concluded on the evidence that Adams had applied his announced principles of selection with such conscientiousness that the *Memoirs* became a virtually complete chronicle of the *public* aspect of John Quincy Adams' life. "Wherever there was any doubt . . . [C. F. Adams] printed, so copiously that some of the descendants have felt that he went too far."²

A different, more subjective, judgment on the *Memoirs* and on C. F. Adams as editor was voiced by C. F. Adams 2d.³ That same son in 1901 brought to public notice a further selection from John

⁹ *Memoirs*, 1: vii–ix.

¹ CFA was not so absolute in the exclusion of family matters as might be inferred. For example, he provides a few glimpses of JQA in the role of father; he includes adverse comments by JQA on CFA (5: 219), and a passage on the death of GWA (8: 159–160).

² Bemis, JQA, 1: x–xi. See also the opinion of L. H. Butterfield as quoted in Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams*, p. 510. His judgment on CFA's procedures in editing the Diary and Autobiography of JA (*Diary and Autobiography*, 1: xxvi–xxx, xlvii–lii) includes much that is appropriate to CFA's procedures in editing the *Memoirs*.

³ "The *Memoirs* as edited by [CFA] are most unsatisfactory to me. He was then old and tired; and . . . his theory of editing such papers seems to me to have been radically wrong. Had I edited that diary, it would have been a very different publication. About half as bulky, with much more editorial work; and above all, with a copious index and many cross references. It is now, to me, a very exasperating work"

(CFA2 to W. F. Reddaway, 30 Nov. 1898). "As the [volumes of the *Memoirs*] one by one came out, they unmistakably revealed in their editorial work the hand of a tired man,—one who, in his own language, most of all wanted 'to be left alone.' Containing much that was superfluous, there was in them more which it would have been better to have suppressed. Missing links, also, essential to a correct understanding of the narrative, had not been supplied, manifestly because investigation had become irksome and writing difficult" (CFA2, Life of CFA, MS draft, p. 1803). Both documents in Adams Papers, Fourth Generation. These views are reflected in Duberman's account (*Charles Francis Adams*, p. 388–389). Another charge was leveled by Edward Everett Hale, who, apparently without much familiarity with the *Memoirs*, wrote: "Some day . . . some one will print in twenty volumes more the rest of John Quincy Adams's diary, which the prudence of his son . . . suppressed" (*Memoirs of a Hundred Years*, 2 vols., N.Y., 1902, 2: 139).

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Quincy Adams' Diary, the first since the *Memoirs*. He read to a Newburyport audience entries from the period of young Adams' residence in that town.⁴ In November 1902, Adams read more extensively from entries of the same period at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, noting that "Though I found in this record much which greatly interested me, no use whatever was made of it by my father in his publication entitled 'Memoirs of J. Q. Adams'; for it contains little of, so-called, historical value." He placed the two appropriate Diary booklets in the hands of Charles C. Smith, the Society's editor, "with permission to make such use of their contents as he saw fit." From the Newburyport entries, 9 August 1787 – 18 September 1789, Smith "incorporated in the *Proceedings* such extracts as to him seemed of interest or value." He chose to print the record almost in entirety, Adams commenting that "some insignificant portions of the diary have been omitted either because the events recorded were too trivial or commonplace to merit publication or because they related to matters of student life and intercourse now of interest to no one." The entries were accompanied by lengthy and impressive annotations prepared by Miss J. C. Watts, a Radcliffe alumna, "thoroughly trained and indefatigable in research."⁵

Another, and seemingly the last, of C. F. Adams 2d's addenda to what his father had printed in the *Memoirs* concerned public matters that fell well within the senior Adams' guidelines for inclusion. Mistakenly he had omitted all entries from the period 24 March–30 November 1832, because "the minutes remaining ...

⁴ *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting House of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, October 31, 1901*, Newburyport, 1902, p. 43–46. The extracts published were from the entries of 3, 15, 18 Nov., 9 Dec. 1787; 6, 20 Jan., 10 Feb., 27 April, 4, 11 May, 3, 10, 14 Aug. 1788.

⁵ MHS, *Procs.*, 2d ser., 16 (1902):292–462. The text and notes as they had appeared in the *Proceedings* were published in Boston in 1903, with some changes in C. F. Adams' introduction and the addition of an index, as *Life in a New England Town: 1787, 1788: Diary of John Quincy Adams, While a Student in the Office of Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport*. The

first and third quotations are from the *Proceedings*, p. 292–294; the rest, from p. 8 and 9 of *Life in a New England Town*.

In 1904 CFA2 furnished to William W. Crapo, with permission to publish, entries of 14–21 Sept. 1835 relating to a visit to Nantucket and New Bedford (Old Dartmouth Historical Society, *Historical Sketches*, No. 47 [1918–1919]:13–22). See also CFA, *Diary*, 6:226. It is likely that Adams also furnished a similar unpublished passage, this one of 26 Sept. 1826 recounting a dinner and evening party in Cambridge, for publication in Hannah Winthrop Chapter, D.A.R., *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 170.

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are not deemed sufficiently perfect for publication.”⁶ In December 1905 the younger Adams read a communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society on the debates in the House of Representatives on the constitutional issues raised by the protective tariff and internal improvements. He included lengthy extracts from John Quincy Adams’ published and unpublished correspondence as well as extracts from the Diary for 30, 31 May; 4, 6, 14, 18, 24, 25, 28, 29 June; and 5, 6, 8–13, 17–26 July 1832.⁷

Plans for publishing additional sections from the Diary manuscript were made unlikely by the decision in 1905 of the first Charles Francis Adams’ heirs who were then of full age to create the Adams Manuscript Trust, in which the ownership, care, and supervision of the whole corpus of papers would vest. The archive had three years before been transferred from Quincy to the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. There the papers remained unused until 1908, when Worthington C. Ford came to the Society as Editor. Ford set himself to study and arrange the manuscripts with a view to publishing some of them, but not including in his plans any Diary excerpts.⁸

Although publication of selections from the Diary came to a stop, some consultation and use of the Diary manuscript by members of the Adams family persisted. Brooks Adams, for example, made considerable use of it, including the unpublished portions, in preparing his “Life of John Quincy Adams,” 1903–1909.⁹ In his later years, however, he was opposed to permitting the use of any of the papers, and after his death in 1927 no direct access to the papers by scholars was allowed.¹ Only when Samuel F. Bemis had begun the research that would eventuate in his

⁶ *Memoirs*, 8:502. It would appear that the decision was made after insufficient study of the Diary manuscript for that time span. The entries occur in vol. 47 of the MS, one of the “Rubbish” volumes; those for 25 March–4 July do conform to CFA’s statement, being memoranda or notes for later expansion. However, for 5 July–30 Nov. the entries are complete or “perfect” ones, publishable according to CFA’s standards.

⁷ CFA2, “J. Q. Adams in Twenty-Second Congress,” MHS, *Procs.*, 2d ser., 19 (1905):504–553. The Diary extracts are at p. 520–534. Allan Nevins’ one-volume con-

densation of the *Memoirs* (*The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794–1845*, N.Y., 1928) has not been brought into this account because it includes no material from the Diary not earlier published.

⁸ JQA, *Writings*, 1:vi. For a more detailed account of the history of the Papers during this period, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1:xxx–xxxi.

⁹ Adams Papers, Fourth Generation; Henry Adams, on the other hand, appears to have used only the *Memoirs* in writing his *History of the United States, 1801–1817*.

¹ JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1:xxxi–xxxii.

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two-volume biography of J. Q. Adams was the rule relaxed, and apparently for him alone.²

Soon more fundamental developments governing the availability of the Diary and of the rest of the family's papers were at hand. In 1952 the then trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust determined to publish on microfilm an edition of the whole archive. The story ends with the action of the trustees' transferring ownership of the papers to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and with the formulation of plans for a letterpress edition of the papers that would include in their entirety the diaries of the Adams statesmen.³

3. THE YOUNG DIARIST

These two volumes, comprising thirteen manuscript booklets and books, record John Quincy Adams' activities and thoughts from the age of twelve to twenty-one. The earliest Diaries start with Adams' second visit to Europe, a sojourn of six years, during which time he lived in or visited more than a half-dozen countries. The Diary continues with his return to the United States, residence in Haverhill, where he prepared for entrance to Harvard, year and a quarter at college, leisurely summer after graduation, and the first fifteen months of his legal training in Newburyport. It affords a remarkable picture of the maturation of a serious, precocious, and thoroughly disciplined young man.⁴

Before starting his Diary in November 1779, John Quincy Adams had read more widely and had experienced more of life than most boys. By the age of ten he had read two volumes of Smollett's *Complete History of England*, some Shakespeare and Pope, and Thomson's *The Seasons* and had attempted Milton's

² Bemis' prefatory statement to *John Quincy Adams and the Union* in 1956 that the papers had been placed "unreservedly at my disposal" seems to apply to conditions after the death of Henry Adams 2d in 1951. The Bemis-HA2 correspondence, 1938-1951, preserved in the Adams Papers, Fourth Generation, makes it clear that although Professor Bemis did enjoy direct access to the papers he needed during those years, that access was always with Mr. Adams' aid and in his presence.

The earlier situation is properly mirrored also in Bemis' preface to the first volume (1949) of the biography where he acknowledges that his "searching" was "with the uninhibited and indefatigable assistance of Mr. Henry Adams, 2d" (Bemis, JQA, 1 : x-xi; 2 : xi).

³ For a full account, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1 : xxxii-xxxiv.

⁴ A physical description of each of the thirteen Diary booklets and books is given in the notes with the text.

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Paradise Lost. Already he was asking his father for advice on how to proportion his play and study time, writing, "I am more Satisfied . . . when I have applied part of my time to Some useful employment than when I have Idled it away about Trifles and play." The elder Adams encouraged him to write and advised him on his reading, suggesting that, despite his "tender Age," he should study the histories of revolutions to help "throw Some Light upon [his] Father's character" and to contrast the present war with other European revolutions. In the summer of 1777 Adams recommended to his son Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, for future times might require new wars, councils, and negotiations. Such works, John Adams told him, would afford "the most solid Instruction and Improvement for the Part which may be allotted you to act on the Stage of Life."⁵ From these ambitious beginnings sprang John Quincy Adams' lifelong interest in books, which continued unabated and is amply documented in the earliest Diaries.

In early 1778 John Quincy Adams and his father sailed for Europe from Massachusetts on the frigate *Boston*. John Adams had been appointed a third United States commissioner, with Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin, at the Court of France. In France, John Quincy immediately entered the private boarding school of M. Le Coeur at Passy, where his schoolmates included Americans Jesse Deane, Benjamin Franklin Bache, and William Temple Franklin. During this first trip away from puritan New England, Adams acquired an interest in and devotion to the theater. He attended the principal theaters of Paris, including the French and Italian comedies and the Théâtre des Petits Comédiens du Bois de Boulogne, "where a company of Children performed two or three times a week." Just as John Quincy had begun to master French, John Adams started making plans for a return to America, for he learned that the congress had appointed a single minister, Franklin.⁶

Almost immediately after their return in August 1779, John Adams was appointed a minister plenipotentiary at Paris for the negotiation of a peace treaty with Great Britain. Although John Quincy had been eager to accompany his father on the first trip,

⁵ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 2:254–255, 261, 290–291, 307–308; JQA, Diary, 24 Sept. 1829 (*Memoirs*, 8:156–157); JQA to Elizabeth Smith Shaw Peabody, 29 July

1812, LbC (Adams Papers).

⁶ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:93–94, 99–100; JQA, Loquitur, [14–21 Oct. 1824], LbC (Adams Papers).

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he was reluctant to return to Europe, preferring to prepare for Harvard at Andover. Abigail Adams, however, took her son aside and, with “resolution and . . . Roman matronlike affection,” Adams recalled years later, urged him to return to Europe. Eventually her “persuasive reasoning and tenderness” convinced him to go. Two months after the father and sons John Quincy and Charles had left, Abigail wrote reassuring John Quincy that his decision had been correct:

These are times in which a Genius would wish to live. It is not in the still calm of life, or the repose of a pacific station, that great characters are formed. . . . All History will convince you of this, and that wisdom and penetration are the fruits of experience, not the Lessons of retirement and leisure.

Great necessities call out great virtues. When a mind is raised, and animated by scenes that engage the Heart, then those qualities which would otherways lay dormant, wake into Life, and form the Character of the Hero and Statesman.⁷

John Quincy’s second trip to Europe marks the start of his Diary, but he had given some thought to personal record-keeping before then. In June 1777 he asked for a blank book in which to write notes from his wide-ranging reading. A year later, while Adams was attending school at Passy, his father admonished him to keep a journal or a diary; but the eleven-year-old thought that the task, though important and useful, required too much “patience and perseverance.” Yet, less than a year later, he began to journalize, no doubt out of a sense of filial duty and perhaps to conform with others in their company who kept records of their journey.

The first entries describe, at times vividly, the stormy ocean crossing in the leaky *La Sensible*, which was forced to land at the closest Spanish port on 8 December. Later John Quincy Adams recorded such routine matters as seating arrangements in the carriages, miles covered on the day’s journey, meals consumed, and occasionally impressions of the countryside. His comments often paralleled those in the diaries of adults on the trip. Numerous entries were devoted to drafts of letters later sent to family and friends back home.

Adams abandoned his Diary shortly before the completion of

⁷ JQA to Henry Coleman, 25 Aug. 1826, LbC (Adams Papers); *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:268; see also p. 293.

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the journey from Spain to Paris, but he took it up again when his surroundings changed. After nearly half a year in school at Passy, the boys left with their father for Holland, where John Adams was to negotiate a loan for the United States. In a new country and the unfamiliar city of Amsterdam, John Quincy diligently copied into his Diary from guidebooks long passages about points of interest in the Dutch towns he visited, thereby heeding his father's injunction to write down something useful to reflect upon.⁸ After a short time in Amsterdam, however, and after minister Adams' energies turned to his diplomatic mission, John Quincy was reduced to recording the times of arrival at and departure from his lodgings and of going to bed, until, at last, he stopped writing.

Although Adams catalogued his activities and those of people around him, almost nothing in the earliest Diary booklets expresses his own feelings. Perhaps such sentiments in writing were too much to expect from a boy in his early adolescence or were beyond the scope of his father's guidelines for diary-keeping. John Adams' diplomatic labors in the Dutch city apparently left him little time to devote to his sons, but the diarist never permitted himself to express disappointment or complain of neglect, although the meticulous notation of his father's arrivals and departures may suggest loneliness. On one occasion when Adams asked his sons whether they wanted to return to Amsterdam from Leyden, John Quincy burst out in reply "With all my heart"! Such flashes of sentiment are rare in the earliest Diaries.

Life as the young son of an American commissioner had disadvantages. John Quincy and Charles were sent to school in Amsterdam; the meager diary entries give no hint of what the older boy thought of being enrolled in a Dutch-speaking school or whether John Adams had discussed the prospect with his sons. They were expected to remain in the cold, inhospitable environ-

⁸ A generation later, when GWA and JA2 were departing from Boston to join their parents, JQA and LCA, in Europe, JA admonished his two grandsons, doubtless as he had his own son three decades earlier, always to keep with them a pencil book, pocket inkhorn, and some paper so that they could "minute on the spot any remarkable thing [they might] see or hear." Without a diary, JA warned, "your Travels, will be no better than the flight of

Birds; through the air. They will leave no trace behind them. Whatever you write preserve. I have burned, Bushells of my Silly notes, in fitts of Impatience and humiliation, which I would now give anything to recover. 'These fair Creatures are thyself.' And would be more useful and influential in Self Examination than all the Sermons of the Clergy" (JA to GWA and JA2, 3 May 1815, Adams Papers).

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ment of the school for some time: "How long we shall stay here," John Quincy wrote, "I can not tell." Even during vacations the boys remained at school; but with few amusements to describe, the Diary entries become perfunctory, then subside altogether. The school was an unhappy experience, and John Adams angrily withdrew his sons when the master complained about the behavior of John Quincy, who resented being kept at a level below his abilities because of his deficiency in Dutch. On the recommendation of Benjamin Waterhouse, the boys thereafter pursued their studies with private tutors in Leyden, where they were also permitted to attend lectures at the university.⁹

John Quincy resumed his Diary a half-year later, on the very day his father came to take him and his brother from Leyden. As before, John Adams must have inspired and persuaded his oldest son to return to his Diary. The elder Adams had for some time been concerned that the boys' education lacked adequate exposure to English literature. John Quincy's earlier practice of copying passages from English essays had soon waned. Stimulated anew, he copied from Shakespeare, Pope, Garth, Addison, and Waller and long passages from William Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar*, to which he appended corrections drawn from his own experience.

About this time Adams, now almost fourteen, left for St. Petersburg with Francis Dana. On the two-thousand-mile journey to the Russian capital Adams added interesting detail to his Diary, but once settled in St. Petersburg, he mentioned only the routine features of daily life, without assessment or elaboration of his experiences. With monotonous repetition he recorded comings and goings, walks along the quay, and daily temperatures in St. Petersburg (until the thermometer was stolen). Extenuating circumstances make this part of the Diary less revealing. It was Adams' first attempt to keep a Diary for any extended period without the stimulus of constantly changing people and places that a journey affords. The Russian capital proved dreary and confining, hardly the environment for producing long, interesting journal entries.

The nature of Dana's mission, the disappointed expectations of the Adamses, father and son, and the dearth of tutors and schools in Russia also may have contributed to this passivity.

⁹ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:10, 11-12, 31-32, 34-35.

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Dana had been sent as United States minister in the hope that he could persuade Catherine the Great to receive his country into the League of Armed Neutrality by a treaty that would include formal recognition of the independence of the newly created republic. But the American minister never received acknowledgment as the representative of an independent power. Without it, Dana was treated as an outsider by the other foreign ministers until Dutch recognition of American independence. Thus, during his fifteen-month stay, Adams' role as an aide was a minor one. Dana, who had little familiarity with French, probably found his help with the diplomatic language of some use, even though French Minister Verac thought the young man's command of French only middling. Adams also served as copyist, but few documents and little important correspondence appear in his hand among Dana's papers. Adams was more of a friend and companion than an assistant to Dana, for whom Russia was an unfriendly, faraway place.¹ For all practical purposes the youth was reduced to continuing his studies; but without schools and proper books, he could do little more than make elementary Latin translations and read English history and poetry. Dana, admitting that there was little he could do to help, deplored John Quincy's loss of time for regular study.² It is not surprising, then, that Adams' Diary throughout much of 1782 is barren of description and details, even in his account of noteworthy events, such as his trips to Oranienbaum and Peterhoff.

During the next two years Adams kept his Diary irregularly. Occasionally he added a touch of whimsy with pencil sketches of the dance assembly and the church congregation he observed while visiting Sweden on his return from St. Petersburg. But there was no sustained interest in recording more systematically his daily activities; he even avoided significant comment on the negotiations and signing of the Definitive Treaty, because it forced him to discuss politics.

Later, Adams conceded that he lacked during these early years the one quality essential for diary-keeping—perseverance. He was constantly encouraged by his father to continue his efforts, but now the elder Adams asked him to do more than make

¹ JQA, *Loquitur*, [14–21 Oct. 1824], LbC (Adams Papers); Francis Dana letter-books and other papers, Dana Family Papers (MHi); Francis Dana to JA, 28

March 1782 (Adams Papers).

² Francis Dana to JA, 16 Sept. 1782 (Adams Papers).

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a mere record of events. "Have you kept a regular Journal?" he asked upon John Quincy's return from Russia:

If you have not, you will be likely to forget most of the Observations you have made. If you have omitted this Useful Exercise, let me advise you to recommence it, immediately. Let it be your Amusement, to minute every day, whatever you may have seen or heard worth Notice. One contracts a Fondness of Writing by Use. We learn to write readily, and what is of more importance, We think, and improve our Judgments, by committing our Thoughts to Paper.³

Young Adams purchased three blank books in August 1783, undoubtedly for this purpose, but he did not gain firm resolve until January 1785, when he began to make use of the first of them.

His renewed efforts transformed the Diary. Visually the difference is apparent in the disappearance of his exaggerated writing style, with its special flourishes, and the far fewer cross-outs and rephrasings, so common in his early efforts. (See Illustrations Nos. 1 and 12.) For the first time he began to question the quality of his entries, and this self-searching helped give the Diary added significance and an enduring character. It became a more personal document—so much so that he occasionally refrained from recording the substance of conversations because of the prying curiosity of others.

The metamorphosis may have come about for several reasons. Aware by late 1784 that he must return shortly to the United States to enter Harvard and eventually to pursue a career, Adams savored his final months in Paris. The company of a reunited family (his mother and sister had joined John and John Quincy in the summer of 1784) and the sights and opportunities in the French capital offered added stimulation for writing. Accounts of evenings with Jefferson, dinners at the home of Lafayette, and other glimpses of life in Paris show John Quincy's maturation and ability to enter into the world of his father and the men of the Revolutionary generation. Such events were worth recording. Arriving in New York in midsummer 1785, he won ready acceptance despite his mere eighteen years. He was entertained almost constantly by members of the congress and

³ JQA, Diary, 26 July 1816 (*Memoirs*, 3:407); JA to JQA, 14 May 1783 (Adams Papers). In 1834 JQA noted that this perseverance "requires a character given to

very few of the sons of men . . . to which toil is a pleasure, and of which untiring patience is an essential element" (JQA, Diary, 1834; *Memoirs*, 9:159).

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became a house guest of its president, Richard Henry Lee. On long walks Adams discussed politics and diplomacy with government leaders, and he enjoyed the hospitality of many of New York's leading families. The fulfillment of his promise to maintain a steady correspondence with his sister was made easier by a well maintained and detailed diary.

Once settled for six months in Haverhill and away from the attractions of Paris and New York, John Quincy Adams recognized that it would be a problem to maintain the same interest in his Diary that he had had during the past months. He adopted a new strategy: "My Plan will now be very different," he wrote, "Little narrative, and the most part of what I write will be observations."⁴ In the months that followed, the Diary's candor and openness illuminate our understanding of Adams, his generation, and his times. Buoyed with personal confidence from his experience on the Continent, he was more at ease in evaluating persons and experiences, surrounded as he was by people his own age and adults less distinguished than those he had known abroad.

His sketches, some brief, some extended and formal, offer penetrating accounts of those he met. The Diary also carries the reader through his critical encounter with Nancy Hazen, who charmed and finally irritated him. Here and there Adams assesses his own performance and conduct, revealing concern about self-confidence, ambition, and the proper use of time. The Diary now devotes more space to social commentary, ranging from opinions on religion to education and politics. Increasingly it portrays a young man more involved with people, institutions, and ideas in a world in which he was playing a larger role.

Adams brought to his character sketches a precociously analytical mind as well as impetuous and tenacious judgments. These contrasting qualities were readily apparent to his admiring, though not uncritical, family. His sister, Abigail (Nabby), warned him about the "warmth of temper which [led him] to judge rather prematurely and to condemn without sufficiently considering the for and against." His mother was well aware of the impulsiveness which occasionally carried him to excess. She hoped Cousin Eliza Cranch, temporarily living in Haverhill, might cure him of his tendency to be a "little too possitive."⁵

⁴ JQA, Diary, 1 Oct. 1785.

2 Sept. 1785, AA, *Letters*, ed. CFA, 1848, p.

⁵ AA2 to JQA, 26 Aug.-13 Sept. 1785
(Adams Papers); AA to Elizabeth Cranch,

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Adams had begun to write penetrating analyses of people in his Diary in 1785. In deciding to maintain an almost continuous correspondence, John Quincy and Nabby agreed to write opinions on various people they met. The passengers, officers, and some crew members on *Le Courier l'Amérique*, on which Adams returned to America, were his first subjects. From Harvard, he sent his sister sketches of members of the college government. After the start of his senior year he began to make in the Diary long appraisals of his classmates, finding nearly every gradation of disposition and intelligence. Adams predictably approved as "respectable Characters" studious classmates like himself, remaining convinced of an exact ratio between the hours at study and good scholarship. Although not always proved correct in his analysis of his classmates, he offered some perceptive insights. How seriously he took his evaluations is suggested by his modifications of some portraits on closer acquaintance and his consultation of his evaluations long after leaving Harvard.⁶

The prose sketch was not the only form Adams employed. Impressed by "The Receipt for a Wife," a satirical poem written by and about several young women whom he met in New York, he sought to compose better ones himself. Several young women in Haverhill and Cambridge became subjects for poems, acrostics, and occasional lines, many preliminary efforts for longer pieces he published later. These sharpened his skill at satire, clarified his views about feminine personality, and apparently satisfied his "passion for rhyming."⁷

Adams' Diary judgments went beyond descriptions of attractive women and character sketches. He interpreted his social environment in Haverhill and at Harvard in critical, often scathing, fashion. In Haverhill, he complained about the constricted life of a minister's family and looked forward to the changes Harvard would bring. Disdainful of household rules which interfered with late-night studying, he found just as disagreeable his uncle's unbending Calvinism. The six months at the Shaws', besides preparing him for college studies, underscored the contrast between the stimulating activities in Europe and the life of rural America, staid and conservative despite its happy and serene moments.

Admitted to advanced standing as a junior at Harvard in

⁶ JQA to JA, 30 Aug. 1786 (Adams Papers); JQA, Diary, 5 April 1788.

⁷ AA2 to JQA, 1 Sept.–12 Oct. 1786 (Adams Papers).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

March 1786, John Quincy Adams spent the next sixteen months, as he acknowledged at the time and throughout his life, in a pleasant and exhilarating environment. What sets his Harvard Diary apart from those of other eighteenth-century students is his almost total absorption with the institution and the educational process. It tells us more about students and their daily routine and activities, college officials, tutors, educational policy and practice, and curriculum than does any other personal record of this period.

Leading an almost cloistered existence, John Quincy Adams never missed a lecture until near the end of his senior year. Eliza Cranch once complained of his chamber's "*learned dirt*." He was thinner, and she thought he looked unkempt, so she busied herself in setting things straight.⁸ The Diary provides information on the subjects studied, the texts used, and the methods and quality of instruction and administration. Particularly important to Adams were the disputations and orations that were part of the academic routine. The preparations he made, his feelings about the subject, and the speeches themselves were usually faithfully recorded. Topics varied from the immortality of the soul to social inequality as essential to liberty.

Despite Adams' fondness for Harvard, he found that the daily routine made it impossible for independent minds like his own to concentrate effectively on study. He lamented that "as soon as I get in a way of thinking and writing upon any Subject, the College Bell infallibly sounds in my Ears, and calls me, to a lecture, or to recitation or to Prayers." Only by remaining at the college during the summer vacation could a student enjoy uninterrupted study.⁹

Adams found President Joseph Willard dull and aloof, and with the exception of the affable Professor Samuel Williams, the faculty almost too haughty to bear. The tutors had the double fault of inadequate knowledge of their subjects and of imposing between themselves and the students artificially created and rigid social barriers, which caused hostility and an occasional student rampage. Classroom recitations, instead of providing enlightenment, simply repeated an author's words; no independent thought was engendered. Tutors returning to college several years after their own graduation were out of touch with

⁸ Elizabeth Cranch to AA, 1 July 1786 (Adams Papers).

⁹ JQA, Diary, 21 Sept., 20 June, 23 March 1786.

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their subjects, and few remained long enough to achieve an understanding of their discipline or their students.¹

Harvard meant not only a return to formal study and instruction, recently all too infrequent, but also a retreat from the society of adults to the company of peers. Time spent away from prescribed studies was devoted to a variety of extracurricular clubs, including the Handel Sodality, and the Musical, Junior Tea, Breakfast, Dancing, and Tuesday clubs, in addition to "A.B." and Phi Beta Kappa. The last two, which afforded further opportunities for composition and oratory, reflected the interest that began among some students in the early 1770s in perfecting their writing and elocution. There were dinners at nearby taverns, trips to Boston, refreshment and good talk in the rooms.

Looking back upon his months at Harvard, Adams thought they had produced "very good effects; particularly, in reducing my opinion of myself, of my acquirements, and of my future prospects, nearer to the level of truth and reality." More than ever before, the Diary reveals an intense inner life—his reflections upon his ambition, self-worth, and use of time. He worried most about his suitability for the law, hoping he "had just Ambition enough to serve as a Stimulus . . . and just Vanity enough to be gratified with small Distinctions." But he realized that his headstrong behavior required a curb and that his vanity was often obvious to others. Warned years before by his mother of his need to check his passions, Adams now began to recognize that he impetuously aired sentiments that a more rational behavior would conceal. Yet, accepting his vanity, he preferred to live a purposeful life, in which he might receive "the applause of his Country, and the Esteem of mankind" rather than settle for an unambitious, ordinary existence.²

Still, he was often troubled by a lack of self-confidence and of a sense of self-worth. He agonized over comparisons between himself and others for college honors. He viewed himself as "plod-[ding] along, mechanically." After graduation he declared that he was a "mere cypher in creation; without any employment and without any character," who was waiting to begin studying

¹ JQA to AA2, 18 May–17 June 1786, AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, [3]: 118; JQA, Diary, 1, 8 May, 13 June, 4 Sept. 1786; 11 March 1787.

² JQA, Diary, 26 April, 30 Dec. 1785; 29 Sept. 1786; 20 June 1787; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:312.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

law so that he might have something to say in his Diary.³ As with other Adamses, his paramount concern was the use of time. Opportunities for leisure made him uneasy. At home in Braintree he belittled exercise as a dull though perhaps necessary routine that took him away from the improvement of his mind. He found that he had “even discarded thought, and live[d] more like any of the domestic animals, than like man.” At year’s end Adams often added moral reflections to his last entry, disheartened by the amount of time he had “lost” which could not be retrieved, but reassured that he had done nothing seriously reproachful.⁴

Despite Adams’ doubts about his accomplishments, the Diary bears evidence of significant growth. He developed well-considered opinions on religion and politics. Tolerant of the religious beliefs of others, he eschewed a strong denominational commitment, maintaining a reasoned conviction about God and revealed religion. He was scornful of Biblical literalism, from his own study and translation of ancient authors, and impatient with the impracticality of “abstruse points of religion.” Calvinistic election, he held, was incompatible with a god who was good and wise as well as powerful.⁵

Adams’ accumulated experience in Europe, as the journal of his last months there occasionally reveals, made him an ardent republican even before his return; his speeches in college confirmed and refined his thoughts on the subject. On the grounds that limited size was necessary to maintain a republic, he opposed enlarging the powers of the Continental Congress. He recognized and applauded the social revolution that republicanism was accomplishing in America. He noted that in Boston few wealthy or politically important families possessed a genteel ancestry of several generations. Families in high repute, he thought, would fall to their lowest ebb within three decades. “And there is a great chance,” he reflected soberly, “that I myself shall at some future period serve as an additional example of this truth.” Adams’ sense of republicanism led him to view the United States Constitution as designed to give more power, influence, and wealth to those who already possessed them. After

³ JQA, Diary, 21 May, 11, 28 July 1787.

⁴ Same, 31 Dec. 1785; 14 April, 12 July 1787.

⁵ Same, 25 Sept., 27 Nov., 18 Dec. 1785; 20 Jan., 17, 22 Feb., 5 March 1786. For Adams’ views on Calvinistic, evangelical

preachers, compare his Diary analyses of sermons with the biographical notes, beginning with entry for 11 Feb. 1786, note 1, during Adams’ stay in Haverhill, as well as later remarks in such entries as 2 March, 8 Aug. 1788.

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Massachusetts ratified, however, he became “converted, though not convinced.”⁶

In one of his Harvard forensics, Adams argued that even civil disobedience was not altogether deplorable, provided that it was kept within bounds. Well managed, such civil discontent might encourage the growth of republican government. In a favorite metaphor, he saw such convulsions as like certain drugs, “which of themselves are deadly Poison but if properly tempered may be made, highly medicinal.” Thus, he was not wholly opposed to Shays’ Rebellion. When the Shaysites arose in armed military companies, they threatened the fabric of republicanism and deserved public condemnation; Adams recognized, however, that threats to social order might arise outside the lower orders. The Society of the Cincinnati, dangerous, if not fatal, to a republic, equally merited public censure.⁷

Adams spent the three years after graduation studying law in the office of Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport. Fifteen months of that period are covered in the second of these two volumes. Adams’ record of the reading chosen by his mentor and of other activities gives some idea of the course of instruction thought appropriate by one of the leading trainers of lawyers of that day. Besides overcoming ponderous legal tomes, some requiring several readings, he spent his first months on the drudgery of completing a copybook of legal forms for later use in his practice and assisted Parsons to get ready for court days—all this amid the noise and chaos occasioned by law office visitors and fellow apprentices. Meaningful study was fitful, to say the least.⁸

Adams’ attention to the law did not isolate him from friends, relatives, and social activities, especially after he had made some progress in his studies. He found it necessary to engage in some diversions in order not to appear “too singular.” A club of apprentices, several being old classmates, met weekly in Newburyport and filled some of his most pleasant evening hours. Occasionally club members or town acquaintances gathered in tav-

⁶ JQA to AA, 30 Dec. 1786 (Adams Papers); JQA, Diary, 19 July 1786; 6 Jan., 2 Aug. 1787; 7 Feb. 1788; Douglass Adair, “‘That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science’: David Hume, James Madison, and the *Tenth Federalist*,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 20:348–349 (Aug. 1957).

⁷ JQA to JA, 30 June 1787 (Adams Papers); (“Whether civil discord is advantageous to Society”), JQA, Diary, 6 July, 7 Sept. 1786.

⁸ JQA, Diary, 17, 24 Sept., 2 Oct., 22 Dec. 1787; 21 March 1788.

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erns; the Diary dutifully recorded bouts of intoxication and Adams' reprimands to himself in the days that followed. He joined in dancing, card playing, singing, kissing games, and other entertainments in Newburyport homes. The young ladies he met inspired sketches and satirical pieces for poems.⁹

Distraction from his legal studies induced guilt, despite his recognition of the need for relaxation, and with it anxiety and depression. In reflective moods, Adams questioned the value of ambition and fame. His Phi Beta Kappa address, delivered in September 1788, admonished his audience to avoid the distresses and bitterness of aspiration by keeping desires "within rational bounds." He insisted that if everyone filled the station in life allotted to him, he would win respect and escape envy. The final months of that year were for Adams ones of ill health and frequent despair.

4. THE EDITORIAL METHOD

Materials Included and Their Arrangement

Sequential entries in a number of instances have been derived from more than one Diary book or booklet. Whenever two booklets carry an entry for the same day, both entries are included only if additional information is provided. In most cases, the minor entry is mentioned with citation in a note to the main Diary entry. Monthly summaries in one of the early Diaries have been retained. Extended passages copied from Adams' literary readings, guidebooks, or newspapers have usually been deleted, but a description of the passages and the sources used has been supplied. Adams' own compositions included in the Diary, such as his college essays and speeches, are of course retained.

Textual policy

In general, the text follows the rules set forth in the Introduction to the *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 1:lv–lix, to which readers are referred to find a complete statement of policy of the Adams Papers. The nature of the Diary of John Quincy

⁹ JQA, Diary, 30 Sept., 1, 20 Oct., 6 Dec. 1787.

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Adams, particularly for the early years published here, does require, however, certain minor variations and emphases.

Spelling. Adams' many French passages are printed unchanged, with numerous spelling and accent errors, unless intelligibility is impaired. The same is true for his inaccurate rendering of Greek accents and breathings. Many of the towns and villages visited by Adams on journeys through Spain, Russia, Finland, Sweden, and elsewhere have their names incorrectly spelled, no longer have the same name, or are occasionally misidentified by the diarist. When possible, corroborative sources, such as John Adams' *Diary and Autobiography*, Francis Dana's *Journals*, or contemporary guides and maps, are used to correct place names or doubtful spellings.

Translations. Latin and Greek quotations have been translated; French passages, with only a few exceptions, have not been.

Paragraphing. Adams usually broke long Diary entries with a period and dash to indicate a change in subject matter. In the present edition these breaks have been interpreted as marking the beginnings of paragraphs. As his Diary progressed, Adams, writing with a smaller hand, made more economical use of space, virtually filling the page. In some of his college essays, for example, the Diary runs for pages without any break indicated. Where appropriate, the editors have supplied paragraphing with an accompanying explanatory note.

Punctuation. Adams' original punctuation has been generally preserved, with the exception of his comma practice. Throughout the Diaries, Adams consistently used periods for commas, a habit he also followed when copying passages from printed sources. These have been changed to commas where terminal punctuation was not intended. When Adams' purposes are not clear, a note is provided. Occasionally it has been necessary to supply minimum punctuation for intelligibility in dialogue and quoted material.

Annotation. General principles are laid down in the *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 1:lx–lxii. If for published works referred to in the Diary there is a personal copy now among Adams' books at the Stone Library, Quincy, and several other locations, that fact is noted, provided it is reasonable to assume that he owned and used them at the time. In most other cases, annotations give the earliest known place and date of publica-

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tion. Occasionally reference is made to Henry Adams 2d's *Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams Deposited in the Boston Athenaeum* . . . , although all of this part of Adams' library, with the exception of his voluminous bound pamphlet tracts, was returned to the Stone Library, Adams National Historic Site, during the 1970s. Many books now in John Adams' library at the Boston Public Library were borrowed by John Quincy during the early years, and some of the younger Adams' books made their way into that library, even though bookplates and other evidence clearly show that their owner was the son, not the father.

No thorough and systematic attempt has been made to identify every line of poetry John Quincy Adams copied into his Diary. Since quotations, however, are clues to his early education and reading habits and served as models for his attempts at satirical rhyming, an effort has been made to trace such passages to books Adams owned or used at the time.

The double-dated letters written from St. Petersburg by John Quincy Adams and Francis Dana to various Adamses are referred to in the notes with a single date for the convenience of readers wishing to find them in the Adams Papers Microfilm; but several letters written by Dana to other than Adamses retain Old and New Style dates to aid in locating them in Dana's letter-books.

Acknowledgments

For the Adams Papers editors these two volumes begin the presentation of yet another generation of Adamses. Yet even beginnings are dependent upon a past. The contribution of former editors, earlier Adams volumes, and over twenty-five years of research on the family and their activities are evident in these pages.

In addition to these valuable cumulative efforts for the editing of the *Diary*, we have benefited from the help of various specialists. Mason Hammond, Pope Professor of the Latin Language and Literature Emeritus at Harvard University, translated Adams' occasional Greek passages with their archaic symbols; Birgitta Knuttgen of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literature at the same institution helped with Swedish translations. Professors Ralph E. Weber of Marquette University and Brian J. Winkel of Albion College unraveled John Quincy's misciphered message in one of the earliest Diaries. Mona Dearborn, Keeper of the Catalog of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, offered important assistance in locating portraits and their current owners for illustrations in these volumes. Scott Schaefer of the Department of Paintings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, identified a painting from John Quincy Adams' less-than-precise description of it.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, which holds the Adams Family manuscripts and houses the Adams Papers editorial offices, continues to provide incalculable aid to our enterprise. Specific acknowledgment must go to Librarian John D. Cushing and members of his staff, Winifred V. Collins and Aimée Bligh, in particular, who responded without fail to our every request for manuscripts and books from the Society's extraordinary holdings. Malcolm Freiberg, the Society's Editor of Publications, has graciously joined us in reading galley proofs.

One of the indirect effects of John Quincy Adams' early life and travels in Europe, as well as his insatiable interest in books,

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has been our increasing dependence upon the resources of several other institutions in the Boston area. Wilhelmina S. Harris, Superintendent of the Adams National Historic Site in Quincy, and her staff have graciously permitted us long hours in the Stone Library to consult Adams' extensive collection of books. Harley P. Holden, Curator of the Harvard Archives, and his staff have provided important materials that have helped to illuminate Adams' student life at Harvard. The Boston Athenæum is an important repository on which we have called often for books and other materials pertaining to Adams' European stay.

Research efforts in the Boston area were ably assisted by Jane Knowles, now Radcliffe College Archivist, who brought her excellent research skills and broad knowledge to bear upon Adams' unexplored early life. After Mrs. Knowles' departure from our staff, Jill Schindler helped us with some outside research and verification. Editorial Assistants Katherine Oppermann, Maureen Kaplan, and her successor, Eileen Garred, skillfully readied the copy for the press and assisted with the proof-reading and indexing. Michael Crawford, NHPRC intern for 1980–1981, also assisted with prepublication chores. Our editor at Harvard University Press, Ann Louise C. McLaughlin, bestowed upon the manuscript, to its great benefit, the same expertise and concern she has given to all the Adams volumes that have preceded these.

Guide to Editorial Apparatus

1. TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used throughout *The Adams Papers* to clarify the presentation of the text.

[...], [...]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[...]¹, [...]¹	More than two words missing and not conjecturable; subjoined footnote estimates amount of missing matter.
[]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible. Amount of blank space inside brackets approximates the number of missing or illegible digits.
[roman]	Editorial insertion or conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter. A question mark is inserted before the closing bracket if the conjectural reading is seriously doubtful.
<italic>	Matter canceled in the manuscript but restored in our text.

2. ADAMS FAMILY CODE NAMES

In dealing with an assemblage of papers extending over several generations and written by so many members of a family who often bore the same or similar names, the editors have been obliged to devise short but unmistakable forms for the names of the persons principally concerned. They could not be forever adding dates and epithets to distinguish between the two or more Abigails, Charles Francises, Johns, John Quincys, and Louisa Catherines in the family. The following table lists the short forms that will be used in the annotation throughout *The Adams Papers*, together with their full equivalents and identifying dates. It includes the principal writing members of the “Presidential line” of the Adamses and certain others in that line (and their husbands and wives) who either appear frequently in the family story or have been important in the history of the family papers. Users should bear in mind that this table is *highly selective*, and in no sense is a complete genealogical table for each generation.

First Generation

JA	John Adams (1735–1826)
AA	Abigail Smith (1744–1818), <i>m.</i> JA 1764

Second Generation

AA2	Abigail Adams (1765–1813), daughter of JA and AA, <i>m.</i> WSS 1786
WSS	William Stephens Smith (1755–1816), brother of Mrs. CA

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JQA	John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), son of JA and AA
LCA	Louisa Catherine Johnson (1775–1852), <i>m.</i> JQA 1797
CA	Charles Adams (1770–1800), son of JA and AA
Mrs. CA	Sarah Smith (1769–1828), sister of WSS, <i>m.</i> CA 1795
TBA	Thomas Boylston Adams (1772–1832), son of JA and AA
Mrs. TBA	Ann Harrod (1774–1846), <i>m.</i> TBA 1805

Third Generation

GWA	George Washington Adams (1801–1829), son of JQA and LCA
JA2	John Adams (1803–1834), son of JQA and LCA
Mrs. JA2	Mary Catherine Hellen (1807–1870), <i>m.</i> JA2 1828
CFA	Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886), son of JQA and LCA
ABA	Abigail Brown Brooks (1808–1889), <i>m.</i> CFA 1829
ECA	Elizabeth Coombs Adams (1808–1903), daughter of TBA and Mrs. TBA

Fourth Generation

LCA2	Louisa Catherine Adams (1831–1870), daughter of CFA and ABA, <i>m.</i> Charles Kuhn 1854
JQA2	John Quincy Adams (1833–1894), son of CFA and ABA
CFA2	Charles Francis Adams (1835–1915), son of CFA and ABA
HA	Henry Adams (1838–1918), son of CFA and ABA
MHA	Marian Hooper (1842–1885), <i>m.</i> HA 1872
MA	Mary Adams (1845–1928), daughter of CFA and ABA, <i>m.</i> Henry Parker Quincy 1877
BA	Brooks Adams (1848–1927), son of CFA and ABA

Fifth Generation

CFA3	Charles Francis Adams (1866–1954), son of JQA2
HA2	Henry Adams (1875–1951), son of CFA2
JA3	John Adams (1875–1964), son of CFA2

3. DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols will be employed throughout *The Adams Papers* to describe or identify in brief form the various kinds of manuscript originals.

D	Diary (Used only to designate a diary written by a member of the Adams family and always in combination with the short form of the writer's name and a serial number, as follows: D/JA/23, i.e. the twenty-third fascicle or volume of John Adams' manuscript Diary.)
Dft	draft
Dupl	duplicate
FC	file copy (Ordinarily a copy of a letter retained by a correspondent <i>other than an Adams</i> , for example Jefferson's press copies and polygraph copies, since all three of the Adams statesmen systematically entered copies of their outgoing letters in letter-books.)
Lb	Letterbook (Used only to designate Adams letterbooks and al-

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	ways in combination with the short form of the writer's name and a serial number, as follows: Lb/JQA/29, i.e. the twenty-ninth volume of John Quincy Adams' Letterbooks.)
LbC	letterbook copy (Letterbook copies are normally unsigned, but any such copy is assumed to be in the hand of the person responsible for the text unless it is otherwise described.)
M	Miscellany (Used only to designate materials in the section of the Adams Papers known as the "Miscellany" and always in combination with the short form of the writer's name and a serial number, as follows: M/CFA/32, i.e. the thirty-second volume of the Charles Francis Adams Miscellany—a ledger volume mainly containing transcripts made by CFA in 1833 of selections from the family papers.)
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
RC	recipient's copy (A recipient's copy is assumed to be in the hand of the signer unless it is otherwise described.)
Tr	transcript (A copy, handwritten or typewritten, made substantially later than the original or than other copies—such as duplicates, file copies, letterbook copies—that were made contemporaneously.)
Tripl	triplicate

4. LOCATION SYMBOLS

The originals of most of the letters and other manuscript documents printed, quoted, and cited in this edition are in the Adams Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society. But the originals of the Adamses' outgoing letters and dispatches, and of many other papers by them, are preserved in numerous public and private archives and collections in this country and elsewhere. Locations of privately owned documents are given in expanded or at least completely recognizable form. Locations of documents held by public institutions abroad are indicated by abbreviations generally familiar to scholars; in the United States by the short, logical, and unmistakable institutional symbols used in the National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress, of which a published listing is available and which do not vary significantly from the library location symbols in the familiar *Union List of Serials*.

The following list gives the symbols and their expanded equivalents for institutions owning originals drawn upon in the present volumes. A similar listing, appropriate to the volumes concerned, will appear in the Guide to Editorial Apparatus prefixed to succeeding volumes of the *Diary of John Quincy Adams*.

DLC	Library of Congress
MB	Boston Public Library
MBAt	Boston Athenæum
MH-Ar	Harvard University Archives
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society

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MQA	Adams National Historic Site, Quincy, Massachusetts
MWA	American Antiquarian Society
NN	New York Public Library
NNMus	Museum of the City of New York

5. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONAL TERMS

Adams Papers

Manuscripts and other materials, 1639–1889, in the Adams Manuscript Trust collection given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1956 and enlarged by a few additions of family papers since then. Citations in the present edition are simply by date of the original document if the original is in the main chronological series of the Papers and therefore readily found in the microfilm edition of the Adams Papers (see below). The location of materials in the Letterbooks and the Miscellany is given more fully, and often, if the original would be hard to locate, by the microfilm reel number.

Adams Papers, Adams Office Files

The portion of the Adams manuscripts given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Thomas Boylston Adams in 1973 and retained in the editorial office of the Adams Papers.

Adams Papers Editorial Files

Other materials in the Adams Papers editorial office, Massachusetts Historical Society. These include photoduplicated documents (normally cited by the location of the originals), photographs, correspondence, and bibliographical and other aids compiled and accumulated by the editorial staff.

Adams Papers, Fourth Generation

Adams manuscripts dating 1890 or later originally part of the Trust collection together with Adams manuscripts acquired from other sources, administered by the Massachusetts Historical Society on the same footing with its other manuscript collections.

Adams Papers, Microfilms

The corpus of the Adams Papers, 1639–1889, as published on microfilm by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1954–1959, in 608 reels. Cited in the present work, when necessary, by reel number. Available in research libraries throughout the United States and in a few libraries in Europe and Canada.

The Adams Papers

The present edition in letterpress, published by The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. References between volumes of any given unit will take this form: vol. 3: 171. Since there will be no overall volume numbering for the edition, references from one series, or unit of a series, to another will be by title, volume, and page; for example, JQA, *Papers*, 4:205. (For the same reason, references by scholars citing this edition should not be to *The Adams Papers* as a whole but to the particular series

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or subseries concerned; for example, John Adams, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:145; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 6:167.)

Dana, Journal

Francis Dana, *Journal*, 1779–1780, 1781, in *Dana Family Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Thwing Catalogue, MHi

Annie Haven Thwing, comp., *Inhabitants and Estates of the Town of Boston*, 1630–1800; typed card catalogue, with supplementary bound typescripts, in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

6. SHORT TITLES OF WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

AA, *Letters*, ed. CFA, 1848

Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams. With an Introductory Memoir by Her Grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 4th edn., Boston, 1848.

AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*

Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams, Daughter of John Adams, . . . edited by Her Daughter [Caroline Amelia (Smith) de Windt], New York and London, 1841–[1849]; 3 vols.

Note: Vol. [1], unnumbered, has title and date: *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams*, 1841; vol. 2 has title, volume number, and date: *Correspondence of Miss Adams . . . Vol. II*, 1842; vol. [3] has title, volume number, and date: *Correspondence of Miss Adams . . . , Vol. II*, 1842[!], i.e. same as vol. 2, but preface is signed “April 3d, 1849”[!], and the volume contains as “Part II” a complete reprinting from same type, and with same pagination, of vol. 2 (i.e. “Vol. II”), above, originally issued in 1842.

Adams Family Correspondence

Adams Family Correspondence, ed. L. H. Butterfield and others, Cambridge, 1963– .

Almanach royal, 1778 [and later years]

Almanach royal, année M.DCC.LXXVIII [&c.]. *Présenté à sa majesté pour la première fois en 1699*, Paris, no date.

Amer. Philos. Soc., *Procs.*

American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*.

Annales dramatiques

Annales dramatiques; ou, dictionnaire général des théâtres, Paris, 1808–1812; 9 vols.

Bell, *Bench and Bar of N.H.*

Charles H. Bell, *Bench and Bar of New Hampshire*, Boston, 1894.

Bemis, JQA

Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams*, New York, 1949–1956; 2 vols. [vol. 1:] *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy*; [vol. 2:] *John Quincy Adams and the Union*.

Bénézit, *Dict. . . . des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*

E[manuel] Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, new edn., [Paris], 1960; 8 vols.

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Bentley, *Diary*

The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts, Salem, 1905–1914; 4 vols.

Biog. Dir. Cong.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1949, Washington, 1950.

Biographia Dramatica

David Erskine Baker and others, eds., *Biographia Dramatica; Or, A Companion to the Play House . . .*, London, 1764–1812; 3 vols. in 4.

Book of Abigail and John

The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762–1784, ed. L. H. Butterfield, Marc Friedlaender, and Mary-Jo Kline, Cambridge, 1975.

Boston Directory, [year]

Boston Directory, issued annually with varying imprints.

Boston Record Commissioners, *Reports*

City of Boston, Record Commissioners, *Reports*, Boston, 1876–1909; 39 vols.

Brenner, *Bibliographical List*

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WMQ

William and Mary Quarterly.

VOLUME I

Diary 1779–1786

Diary of John Quincy Adams

A
Journal

A
Journal By Me
J Q A
Vol:
Ist.¹

¹ Titlepage and cover for JQA's early Diary, designated D/JQA/1 by Adams editors to indicate the first of the individual Diary books, booklets, or miscellaneous fragments. This Diary booklet, which measures approximately 7" × 4³/₄", consists of eleven leaves of paper folded over and stitched. Bound in with the sheets is a paper cover, and each page has been ruled off with a margin by JQA, in which space he has placed the dates for his entries. On this titlepage, and the revised titlepage

which follows, there is a scrawled design at the bottom of the page which is repeated throughout this Diary booklet.

With the exceptions of D/JQA/7, 9, and 13, all of the Diary volumes or booklets published in these two volumes contain a roman numeral affixed in pencil on either the cover or titlepage. Because they were probably added by CFA while assembling his father's papers in the 19th century, these have been deleted throughout.

A Journal by J Q A
From America
to
Spain VOL. Ist.
begun Friday
12th. of November
1779¹

¹ Revised titlepage located on the inside front cover of D/JQA/1. This titlepage and the first page of entries in the Diary are reproduced in this volume (see the Descriptive List of Illustrations, No. 1).

1779 NOVEMBER FRIDAY 12TH.

This Morning at about 11 o clock I took leave of my Mamma, my Sister, and Brother Tommy,¹ and went to Boston with Mr. Thaxter,² in order to go on board the Frigate the Sensible of 28 twelve Pounders. We arrived at Boston at about 1 o clock; dined

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at my uncle Smiths',³ we expected to go on board in the afternoon but We could not conveniently—till to morrow.

¹ It was not until 30 July 1784 that JQA next saw AA and AA2, when he met them in London en route to France, where his father, JA, was serving as a commissioner to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with various European and African nations. JQA did not see TBA again until his return to America in 1785 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:167–169).

² John Thaxter Jr. (1755–1791), a second cousin to JQA through the marriage of AA's aunt Anna Quincy. After graduation from college he had studied law in JA's office, served as tutor to the Adams boys, and now accompanied JA to Europe as his private secretary. Thaxter returned to America in 1783 after the signing of the

Definitive Treaty with Great Britain and settled in Haverhill, Mass., where he practiced law (same, 2:402). JQA renewed his friendship with Thaxter there in late 1785, when he came to live with his uncle and aunt, Rev. John and Elizabeth (Smith) Shaw, while preparing himself for admission to Harvard in the spring of 1786.

³ JQA did not carefully distinguish between his uncles and great-uncles, aunts and great-aunts, but the person referred to here is his great-uncle Isaac Smith Sr. (1719–1787), a Boston merchant and uncle of AA. A sketch and portrait of Smith appear in *Adams Family Correspondence*, 2:x–xi and facing 103.

SATURDAY 13TH.

To day at about 1 o'clock Pappa, and my Brother Charles,¹ came to town, and at about 5 o'clock we all *<went>* came on board and took our lodgings. My Brother Charles is to lodge with My Pappa and I with Mr. Thaxter.

¹ Immediately after Charles' name, JQA placed a superscript number, the first of a series following the names of those referred to in the entries of 13–15 and 20 Nov. Such numbers, which have been deleted from this edition, were apparently used as a counting device for the

index JQA constructed on the back cover of the Diary booklet. See after the entry for 31 Dec. (below). Unlike most indexers, however, JQA was interested in the frequency with which a name appeared rather than its location in the Diary booklet.

SUNDAY 14TH.

This morning a great number of Gentlemen came on board, and amongst others Col Johonnot,¹ with a son,² of his who is a going to France with us. There are a great number of Passengers and the Frigate is very well mann'd. Col Johonnot introduced me to his son, with whom I hope I shall form, an acquaintance, which will be very agreeable to me and *<I hope>* I shall endeavour to make myself agreeable to him. This afternoon Capt'n. Tucker,³ came on board, and told us that he saw a day or two ago two ships and a brig off Cape Ann: we were very glad he told us of it, so that now we can take proper Measure for shunning them.

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¹ Col. Gabriel Johonnot, grandson of a French Huguenot, was a Boston merchant prominent in boycott activities before the Boston Tea Party. During the Revolution he served as lieutenant colonel in the 14th Regiment of the Continental Army (NEHGR, 7 [1853]:141–142; 44 [1890]:57).

² Samuel Cooper Johonnot, usually referred to in JQA's Diary entries as "Sammy," was being sent to Europe for schooling, first at Passy and later at Geneva. After graduation from Harvard, he studied law under James Sullivan and

began a practice in Portland, Maine, in 1789, but returned to Boston in 1791. From there he went to Demerara, British Guiana (now Georgetown, Guyana), upon what JQA termed "a speculation," but soon became U.S. consul there, where he later died (same, 7 [1853]:141–142; 22 [1868]:9; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:418; JQA, Diary, 3 April 1791).

³ Samuel Tucker, captain of the Continental frigate *Boston*, the ship which carried JA and JQA to France in Feb. 1778 on JA's first mission to Europe (DAB).

MOND 15TH.

This morning a brig and a schooner went out I suppose after wood to the eastward. About 8 o'clock the Gentlemen went to breakfast. Sammy Charles and I don't breakfast with them. About ten o'clock we set sail in company with a brig which is to carry back the Pilot and the Courier De L'Europe¹ who came from France with us. About half after three the Pilot went away from us; he told us he would stay of[f] Cape Ann till eleven o'clock next morning.

¹ A *chasse marée*, which accompanied *La Sensible* back to France until dismasted and presumably lost at sea in a violent storm less than two weeks later (entry for 27 Nov., below; Dana, Journal, 26 Nov.).

⟨Tuesday 16th.⟩ THURSDAY 18TH.

Yesterday and day before there was nothing remarkable only that all day yesterday there was a calm but last night it freshen'd and now we have a Gale of wind.

FRIDAY 19TH.

12 o'clock. The Gale continues. Nothing else remarkable. 6 o'clock. The wind has abated a great deal. There is now only a fresh breeze of wind.

SATURDAY 20TH.

This morning about 6 o'clock spy'd a sail about 2 miles of[f]. We sent the courier de L'europe to speak with her. She put about and run. About nine o'clock she set royals studden [studding] sails and chased us. About one o'clock she came up with us and

~~VER~~

A formal day of Q. & B.

From H. M. M. M.

to

NOV. 1

Spain

Friday

begin

12th of November

1779

" " " "

1779

Friday 12

November

this morning about 11 o'clock

I took leave of my Mamma my Sister & Brother. I on my way went to Boston in order to go on board the Frigate the sensible of 28 we were bound. we arrived at Boston at about 10 o'clock; dined at my uncle Smith's expected to go on board in the afternoon but we could not conveniently tarry till tomorrow.

Saturday to day at about 1 o'clock my Brother Charles came to town and at about 5 o'clock we all ~~went~~ ^{came} on board and took our lodgings. My Brother Charles is to lodge with my Father and I with my Mother.

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hoisted american colours. We hoisted french flag and pendant; we spoke with her. She was a brig¹ eight weeks out of Salem. She has taken three prizes. She says she spoke with the ship the Jack belonging to the same owners with her that the ship Jack has taken two prizes since she came out. The mate came on board. He says they saw an english twenty Gun ship and seven sail he suppos'd a going to Cape Breton for coal. He says there is no English cruisers of[f] the banks; I wrote a Letter to my Mamma² by her as she is agoing directly to Salem. A clever breeze of wind.

¹ The *General Lincoln*, a privateer from Salem, commanded by Capt. John Carnes (Dana, *Journal*; Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 2d edn., 2 vols., Salem, 1845–1849, 2:270).

² *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:238–239.

SUNDAY 21ST.

Nothing remarkable to day except calm all day. 6 o clock. It begins to freshen. We go about 3 knots an hour.

MONDAY 22D.

A fresh breeze all day from the SSE. The Captain says we are about fifty Leagues from the Grand Bank.

TUESDAY 23D.

The weather is very much like that of the Bank. The Courier has taken two fish. At twelve o clock we shall Sound. 4 o clock. We have not sounded. Very foggy all this day.

WEDNESDAY 24TH.

This morning the Courier lost herself in the fog but at about ten o clock we found her again. I will now give a list of the names of the officers and principal passengers on board the Sensible.

Captain Bidé de Chavagnes. A chevalier of the order of Saint Louis and captain of his most Christian Majesty's frigate La Sensible.

Le Ch[evalie]r de Gois briand [Goësbriand]¹ 2'd in command

Mr. Riordan [Le Chevalier D'Arriardant]

Mr. Painker [Le Chevalier de Pincaire]

Mr. Denian

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Mr. Du Breuil [Breville] auxiliary officers.

Mr. De La Guérivieres [Le Chevalier de Guerivierre]

Mr. De La Roche [la Roche de St. Andrè].² Midshipmen.

Mr. le major³

Passengers

Coll. Fleury, a French Gentleman Coll. in the American army⁴

Mr. De Moléon

Mr. De Lancuville

Mr. Delacolombe⁵ other French Gentlemen in the american army

There are a Great Number of other french Gentlemen whose names I don't know.

American Gentlemen

Mr. Allen⁶

Mr. Dana⁷

Mr. Thaxter

My Pappa

Boys

Sammy Cooper *Johonnot*

My Brother Charles and myself.

Sammy Cooper whom I have before spoke of is a very agreeable young Gentleman and makes the passage much less tedious to me than it would be if he had not came with us.

At about 12 o clock we sounded and found bottom at thirty fathom deep. We fish'd a half an hour but caught nothing. Very foggy all day till about 6 o clock PM it clear'd up. 9 o clock. A fresh breeze from the west. Sailors say that when there is a bad wind drink a bowl of punch upon the Captson and the wind will come right. Mr. Dana Mr. Allen and Mr. Thaxter try'd the experiment and the wind changed and came fair; there's super stition for you.

¹ As he himself wrote his name (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:223-224).

² The editorial insertions for this and the names listed above are taken from JA's less phonetically written and probably more correctly spelled listing of officers of *La Sensible* (*Diary and Autobiography*, 2:395).

³ The ship's medical officer, or surgeon major, M. Bergèrac (same, 2:395; entry for 15 June 1785, below).

⁴ François Louis Teissèdre de Fleury, a

French volunteer in the American Revolution, who had distinguished himself in numerous early battles, for which he received a congressional medal (Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 2:425-433).

⁵ Louis Saint Ange, Chevalier Morel de La Colombe, a French officer participating in the American Revolution (same, 1:324; La Colombe to JA, 21 June 1780, Adams Papers). His name appears to have been added to JQA's listing at some later time.

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⁶ Jeremiah Allen, a Boston merchant, whom JA described as “travelling with a View of establishing a private commerce in Spain as well as in France” (JA to the Governor of La Coruña, 18 Dec., LbC, Adams Papers).

⁷ Francis Dana, lawyer, member of the Massachusetts Council and of the Continental Congress, 1777–1778, accompanied JA as secretary to the peace commission. Two years later JQA served as Dana’s per-

sonal secretary and French interpreter for a year when Dana was appointed minister to Russia; Dana left there in 1783, frustrated and unrecognized by the government of Catherine the Great. Dana’s Journals, kept on this trip to Paris and his subsequent journey in 1781 to St. Petersburg and now at MHi, are an important supplement to JQA’s Diary (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:191; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 15:204–217).

THURSDAY 25TH.

This morning about nine o clock the courier lost her foretopmast. About twelve o clock she got it up. 6 o clock. We lay to for her she being a stern of us. She came up with us and we again set sail.

FRIDAY 26TH.

This Morning a very fresh breeze from the N.W. 7 o clock. We now go 12 knots an hour; every face is fill’d with contentment.

SATURDAY 27TH.

I could not write any more yesterday because a Gale of wind came on which hinder’d me but to day it has abated a great deal. Nothing very remarkable to day. O! I had like to have forgot that last night the Courier lost her foremast and we were obliged to leave her.

SUNDAY 28TH.

6 o clock. Calm and cloudy. 9 o clock. It begins to freshen. 6 o clock P.M. A very fresh breeze. I beleive that we shall have no other sail but our fore sail sot [set] to night.

MON 29TH.

The ship is very leaky. The passengers are all called to the Pump four times per day. 8 o clock AM, 12 o clock, 4 o clock PM, and 8 o clock PM.

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TUES 30TH.

To day a middling breeze from the S.E or SSE. At 12 o clock to day being at the Pump there being very little water the beam struck my head and hurt me a little.¹

¹ The remainder of the page in the Diary contains a drawing of a bird and several designs by JQA, probably used as filler since he begins his entries for the new month at the top of the following page.

1779 DECEMBER WED 1ST.

We housed all the Guns to day because she rolled a great deal. A fresh breeze from the S.S.E. Nothing remarkable to day.

THUR 2D.

A fresh breeze from the South. Continual Squalls thunder and lightning. 6 o clock PM. The weather has cleared up.

FRIDAY 3D.

Pleasant weather. A fresh breeze from the S.W. The Captain intends to go to Spain to search the ship and see if he can find the leak. At twelve o clock We were according to our agreement *<at>* 180 leagues from Cape Finister.

SATUR 4TH.

A middling breeze from the SW. This afternoon about four o clock a land Bird came a hovering over the frigate; she being so tired we Caught her. Nothing very remarkable to day.

SUN. 5TH.

A middling breeze from the S.W. We replaced our guns. We took in the Main, and forsails in order to get the Anchors ready. The Captain expects to spy Land tuesday.

MON 6TH.

This morning my brother Charles look'd out of Pappa's window and said he saw a flock of Wild fowl. A fine breeze from the South. About twelve o clock being in my Pappa's room I heard a

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noise upon deck. I went out and was told by one of the Gentlemen that we saw a sail. I immediately went up to the Main cross trees and saw a brig. The Gentlemen conjecture that she is a cruizer and intends to come and reconnoitre us she having but Very little sail set. 1 o clock. I thought she was a brig but I hear she is a ship¹ which has lost her Main mast. 2 o clock P M. She has got almost out of sight. 4 o clock. She has got Quite out of sight.

¹ A square-rigged vessel with a bowsprit and three masts, each composed of a lower, top, and topgallant mast; a brig is a two-masted vessel with square rigging like the ship's fore- and main-masts, but the main-mast has also a fore-and-aft sail (OED).

TUESDAY 7TH.

Last night about nine o clock we saw a number of fish. We could not tell what they were; some say they are Dolphins some that they are Porpoises but it being dark we could not perceive them well only the path they made in the water. I write it in this days Journal because the Captain dont allow any light in the night for fear that there are some british frigates hereabouts; and I could not write in the dark. 10 o clock. I hear some of the sailors cry Land! Land! I must go and see what truth there is in it. I have been up to the Main crosstrees and have seen the Land. It appears to be very high and looks as if it was a great, ways off. The Captain conjectures it is Cape Finister. The wind freshens up a little. We go about 4 kn an hour. 11 o clock. Very foggy. We can't see Land now. 4 o clock. It has clear'd up. We can see Land very plain now.

WEDNES 8TH.

This morning about half after four o clock we saw a sail. At about seven o clock we could see her very plain. She hoisted spanish coulours and we french ones and fir'd a Gun: she goes before to Pilot us. We lay to all last night. 9 o clock. We just fir'd a gun for a signal for a Pilot to come on board but none comes yet. 11 o clock. There's a pilot on board. 1 o clock P M. We have just now cast anchor after coming by five forts; it is an amazing strong place. In one of the forts there are 365 guns. We saw a number of french ships here three of which are agoing to Brest the first good wind. A number of the officers belonging to them

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came on board to see the Captain. As we pass'd by the ships we saluted them with three huzzas which were returned by them. As we passed by the last fort we were saluted from it by 21 guns; we did not return it. I wonder why they did not? The city of Ferrol the harbour of which we are now in is a small city but the houses appear (from here) to be well built. About a league out of the town there is a Vessel with three decks abuilding. It appears to be a Vessel of a hundred guns; the Entrance of the port is very narrow being but about a mile wide. The magazines are very large and magnificent. There is a large building in about the middle of the City which appears to be a monastery. The houses (as I said before) are large and well built. The port is what they call a bason [basin]. Thus have I given a small description of this place. This afternoon my Pappa and the Captain went on board the french and spanish comandants and after that on shore. 4 o'clock. I thought that the fort saluted us at twelve o'clock but I find it is the spanish Admiral's birth day, and they have a great festival of it, they have fir'd, again. About 7 o'clock my Pappa and the Captain Came on board. We have got down our Top Gallant Masts.

THURSDAY 9TH.

This morning My Pappa, Mr. Dana, Mr. Allen, Mr. Thaxter, Sammy Cooper, my brother Charles, and myself came on shore and we all but pappa went and dined at Coll. Fleury's lodgings which are at a french tavern, the master of which was born in South Carolina. At half after six oclock we went to the play and came back at ten. One thing which is remarkable is that all our Voyage we have not had once the sun set clear.¹

¹ This last sentence is written in the margin, presumably at a later date in a slightly different hand. The rest of the page contains a scrawled design, probably completed after the entry was written.

A journal from the
time I left the fregate
La Sensible to the
time I left Ferrol.¹

¹ The first of two titlepages to the continuation of JQA's journal, the contents of which constitute the latter two-thirds of the Diary booklet, D/JQA/1. The title is followed by the same scrawled design repeated throughout the booklet.

December 1779

A
JOURNAL BY
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

CONTINUATION
FROM THE XTH
OF DECEMBER
TO THE LAST OF
THE SAME MONTH
MDCCLXXIX

FRIDAY 10TH.

This forenoon I took a walk about the town but saw nothing worth remarking. At about half after twelve o'clock Pappa and Mr. Dana went on board one of the french ships to dine with the Captain and a number of other Gentlemen.¹ At four o'clock Sammy Cooper and Charles went on board the frigate. Nothing more remarkable to day.

¹ Dana records having dined with Hippolyte, Comte de Sade, Chef d'escadre, that evening on board the flagship *Triomphant*, and on the following night with

Chevalier de Gras Préville, Capitaine de pavillon, on board the same ship (Dana, *Journal*; Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. général*; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:406).

SATURDAY 11TH.

This forenoon a Captain¹ of one of the french men of War came and very politely invited me on board to dine with him. Mr. Thaxter my brother Charles and I went on board of the Jason of 64 Guns. There are three French Men of War here the *Triumphant* of 80 Guns the *Sovereign* of 74 and the *Jason* of 64. The Captain and all the officers were all exceeding polite. At about 5 o'clock we came back. We were to go to the play but there is none. We are to go for Coronna tomorrow.

¹ M. de La Marthonie, commander of the *Jason* (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:405).

SUNDAY 12TH.

This morning I went to the French Consuls to ask him if he went to day.¹ He said that it blew so smart and right against us that it was impossible for us to go to day and that he would take proper Measures to go to morrow by Land. 4 o'clock P.M. Rains

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very hard, Thunder and lightning. 7 1/2. The Weather has clear'd up. I have just been (with Mr Dana, Mr. Allen, Mr. Thaxter, Sammy Cooper, and my Brother Charles) to the play house but found there was no play to night. As we were going we met The frigate's doctor, Mr. [De] La Roche, And Mr. Denian who told us that there was no play but we thought we would go to the door and see but they told us there was none to night but that there would be one to morrow.

¹ That is, to La Coruña, situated about five leagues away across the bay or six leagues by land from El Ferrol. M. Detournelle was consul there (*Almanach royal*, 1778, p. 501).

MONDAY EVENING 13TH.

Very rainy all this day. It is impossible to go to Coronna to day. 10 o clock. I have been to the play with Mr. Dana, Mr. Allen, Mr. Thaxter, and my Brother Charles. We saw there Captain Chavagnes, Mr. De Goesbriand, and all the officers of the Ship and one of the officers of the jason. The actors are very indifferent and so are the musiciens. There are some fine dancers there but I beleive they are not spaniards. I have been twice and both times an opera was acted all spoken in the Italian Language.

TUESDAY 14TH.

The French consul was here last night (he is to go to Coronna with us). He told us that he would send a man this morning to tell us if it was possible to go to Coronna this day. At 10 o clock a Messenger came to our lodgings after our things. The Muletiers came and carried our things down to the boat. At 4 o clock the Consul came and told us we should set out to Morrow morning at 5 o clock in the morning. The officers here French and Spanish have a cockade red and white for the alliance between France and Spain. Capt Chavagnes desir'd all his officers to add the Black to it and put one in himself. He says that he has not wore a Cockade before since he was a Midshipman and accordingly they have got one in. The Spanish and French officers wonder'd at it and Enquir'd of the Frigates officers what they had the black for. They told them that France being allied to the thirteen United States of America they put it in. For that reason, the Captain said that it was only what was due for the Politeness that he had been used with in Boston. There's an Example of French Compliments. 10 o clock. I have been to the play. Much

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the same thing that we had Yesterday and the other day except that a Farce was added to night spoken in the Portugese Language and the Actors and Actresses acted their parts more lively.

WEDNESDAY 15TH.

This morning at 5 o clock the Consul's servant came and wak'd us up. We dress'd and drank a cup of Chocolat. After breakfast the Consul came and told us he was ready. We then went down to the wharf and went on board a boat to cross over the other Side of the bason. When we arrived the Muletiers were not quite ready but we soon got ready, and then we sot out like so many Don Quixote's and Sancho Pancha's or Hudibras's and Ralpho's.¹ We were eleven in Company and in this order. 1st the Consul. 2d My Pappa. 3d Mr. Dana. 4th Mr. Allen. 5th Mr. Thaxter who made the front. 6th Mr. Sam Cooper Johonnot, 7th My Brother Charles and 8th Myself who made the centre. 9thly the Consuls servant. 10th Mr. Dana's servant.² 11th and last the Muletier who brought up the rear. We past several bridges and amongst the rest one of a Mile long which they call devils bridge and another at which we din'd* which was call'd hogs bridge. Droll names for bridges I think? We also pass'd a river and a number of Prodigious high mountains. The ground is in General well cultivated. Corn, Turnips, and all other vegetables stand in the Ground. In the Month of December the Ground is cover'd all about with a sweet verdure and all appears like the Month of May. At about 7 o clock P.M. we arrived at Coronna and took our lodgings. A Gentleman told us that there was an American schooner here belonging to the Tracy's in Newburyport.³ The city of Coronna appear'd to me to be better built and handsomer than that of Ferrol. The streets are larger, but I entered it in the night and therefore could not observe anything very well.

*The French Consul provided our dinner and we were glad of it for we found nothing at all that was eatable at the tavern. He said that they found nothing in Spain but some of the Gentlemen asking for water. Ah? says he "as for water you may find enough of that in Spain."

¹ The knight Hudibras and his squire Ralpho, the principal characters in Samuel Butler's mock-heroic poem *Hudibras*.

² John William Christian Fricke was a German-born captured British mercenary (JA to the Governor of La Coruña, 18 Dec.,

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LbC, Adams Papers; information from Mrs. Robert W. Otto to the Adams Papers Editorial Office, 1966).

³ In 1775 Nathaniel Tracy, Newburyport merchant and shipowner, his brother John, and brother-in-law Jonathan Jackson

launched a mercantile business in European goods, but as war approached they converted their fleet to privateering (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:247–251, 646–649).

A Journal from the time
I left Ferrol to the time
I left Coronna.

THURSDAY THE 16TH OF DECEMBER.

This morning I took a walk about the town to see and found that it was a much more pleasant town than Ferrol. The Chamber which I lodge in commands a beautiful prospect of Rocks and mountains and also a fine view right out to sea and a small part of the town. There is a tour [tower] in the city,¹ but I have not been to see it. Pappa has seen it to day and I beleive I shall go with Mr Thaxter and Mr. Allen to see it to morrow. Nothing very remarkable this day.

¹ In the margin: “a mile out of the city.”

FRIDAY 17TH.

This morning I went to see the tour de fer (as the French call it and the spaniards Tour d’hercule). It is 100 foot in height and perhaps 2000 years old. There is an inscription which I have not seen for I could not go in which runs thus “Marti et Augusto sacrum. Dedicated to Mars and Augustus.” Pappa supposes that it was built by Augustus Cæsar just after he had routed Brutus, and Cassius, at Phillippi. Pappa, Mr. Dana, Mr. Thaxter and Mr. Allen dined at the Governors¹ and at about 7 o clock they came back again. Captn. Trash² of the Newbury vessel sail’d to day.

¹ General Don Pedro Martin Cermeño, governor of the province of Galicia (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:409).

² Probably Philip Trask, captain of the

schooner *Success*, a privateer owned by the Tracy firm and commissioned by a letter of marque on 2 Sept. 1778 (Currier, *Newburyport*, 1:640).

SATURDAY 18TH.

This morning I went to the French Consul’s and from there to the Governor’s of this place. We saw Mr. Logonare¹ at the Con-

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suls. We gave him a Letter and carry another to the Governor's and gave it to him.² He said he would give us a Passport this afternoon³ or to morrow and that it was impossible to go till monday. Very fine weather. I look'd this morning out of our chamber window and saw a beautiful sight. The waves all foaming upon the Beach and Breaking made a terrible noise and as beautiful a sight as I ever saw in my life. We expected to see a Nun made to day but we were disappointed. The Nuns are shut up in Convents and never see any men Except the friars. <[*They go? ...] different [... reasons?]. Sometimes the thing is this. In these European Countries a Girl must marry the person that her parents [to?] chuse for her. If they are ever so obstinate as to absolutely refuse to marry a Person*> This afternoon the Gentlemen all went to see the armory but I was a writing a Letter⁴ and therefore could not go.

¹ Michel Lagoanere, "acting" American agent in La Coruña, who proved unusually helpful to JA by providing travel information and hiring mules and carriages for the trip across northern Spain (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:412; and letter to Lagoanere referred to in note 2, below).

² Both letters are dated 18 Dec. (LbC, Adams Papers); in the Lagoanere letter JA

discussed his travel needs for the journey across northern Spain and in his letter to the governor listed the names of those for whom he was requesting passports.

³ The passport, which was issued that day for JA and his party, is in the Adams Papers and is reproduced in JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2: facing p. 290).

⁴ Not found.

SUNDAY 19TH.

This forenoon we all went to the Consuls where we dined. There were 16 Gentlemen 51 dishes, and 20 different sorts of Wines. As we came home brother Charles led me a wrong way and we were near an hour before we found our lodgings but at last we found them. Very rainy and a Great deal of wind all day. I beleive that there is a heavy Gale of wind at sea.

MONDAY 20TH.

Very rainy all this forenoon. This morning Pappa, Mr. Dana, Mr. Allen and Mr. Thaxter went to Court to see and hear the mode of pleading in this country. At about noon it clear'd up. This afternoon I went to the Consuls after the Inscription on the "tour de fer." He told me that he not got it yet but that he expected to have it to day. He also told me he should come to see my Pappa, and accordingly he came and drank tea here with the king's Lieutenant who is an Irishman. The Administrator of the kings to bacco came also and made a visit to Pappa and made him

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a present of some tobacco and four bundles of segars which are used in this country instead of Pipes. The king of Spain¹ will be 64 year old the 20th of January 1780.

¹ Charles III (1716–1788), son of Philip V and Elisabeth Farnèse, who had reigned since 1759 (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

TUESDAY 21ST.

This forenoon Sammy Cooper Charles and I went to the Consul's in order to go a Gunning. The Consul told us it was too late to go this forenoon but that his Servant should Go with us after dinner. He desir'd us to dine with him which accordingly we did and after dinner the Consuls servant went with us. We had but little Game because it rain'd almost all the time, we went up on the top of the Tour de fer, call'd by the Spaniards tour d'hercule, at about 5 o clock we arriv'd at our lodgings. We live at a french house at the sign of the Grand Amiral in Spanish le Grante Amirante. The Master is a Frenchman and his name is Le Brun and he appears to be a very Clever man.

WEDNESDAY 22D OF DECEMBER.

Rain'd all day with intermissions. At about 3 o clock PM we went a Gunning with Flamand. We got but little because Flamand the Consul's servant put a wad into his Gun and did not put any powder and was forc'd to go and draw it out. Stevens,¹ Sam Cooper, brother Charles, Flamand and I went together. I fir'd three times but once in the Air. I kill'd once. This morning a Spanish Vessel went out and this afternoon a French Frigate and another French Ship came in, to this Port. At about 6 o clock we came home and found nobody but Mr. Allen there.

¹ Joseph Stephens (sometimes Stevens), a former soldier and sailor, was JA's servant in Europe from 1778 to 1783. In the latter year Stephens presumably lost his life at sea while returning to America (JA,

Corr. in the Boston Patriot, p. 533; JA to the Printers of the *Boston Patriot* [14 Feb. 1812], published in their issue of 29 April 1812).

THURSDAY 23D OF DECEMBER.

A good day. At about 11 o clock we saw a Sail and at one o clock we saw a nother one of which prov'd to be a Dutchman which came in to this port, and the other a French man and went to Ferrol. This Afternoon Flamand, Sammy Cooper, and I went

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agunning again, we got Nothing because Flamand's Gun would not go off. Sammy Cooper and I fir'd at a Mark twice and hit both times. At about 5 o clock We arrived at our lodgings. The 2 frigates which we saw enter yesterday are both French and one of them is the famous Belle poule the fregate which fir'd the first gun against the English this war.¹ The Captain of the Belle Poule invited my Pappa to dine with him to morrow.

¹ For an account of the incident, see Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787*, Princeton, 1975, p. 118-119.

FRIDAY 24TH.

This morning a Spanish 80 Gun Ship went out of this harbour. At about 10 o clock the Consul came to our lodgings and brought us the French paper call'd the Courier de L'europe in which was the following news that a part of the Count d'Estaing's¹ fleet had arrived at L'orient which was seperated in the Storm and that it brought news that the Count was repulsed at Savannah with the loss of six hundred men, part of the fleet is also arrived at Cadiz who had a 60 days passage, that there is an American Vessel Arrived at La Rochelle which sail'd with the Confederacy the 16th of October Last and had left her the Same day and arrived at La Rochelle the 8th of December which was the Same day that we arrived at Ferrol. The part of the Counts fleet which arrived at L'Orient brought also an account that the Count was wounded twice in the battle, once in the arm slightly and once in the leg dangerously but was in a fair way of recovery. To day Pappa went with the Consul on board the Belle Poule, and at about 5 o clock he came back again with the Consul. In about a Quarter of an hour the Consul went away.

¹ Charles Henri Théodat Comte d'Estaing became vice admiral in the French navy in 1777 and took command of the fleet organized to battle the British in America in the following year. D'Estaing's attempt to recapture Savannah in Oct. 1779, which he finally abandoned and in which attempt he was severely wounded,

was his third unsuccessful effort in behalf of Americans (John Richard Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783*, N.Y., 1954, p. 206-207; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence*, Boston, 1913, p. 59, 66-75, 115).

SATURDAY 25TH.

This is a great day with the Roman Catholics. "Fete de Nouailles," Christmas. However I find they dont mind it much.

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They dress up and go to mass but after that's over all is. So if they call this religion I wonder what is not it; after Mass, almost all the Shops in town are open'd. But stop. I must not say any thing against their religion while I am in their country but must change the subject. This forenoon Madame Lagoanere sent us some sweetmeats: for my part I was much obliged to her for them, but I shall diminish them but little. We expect to go for Madrid to morrow. The Muletiers came to look and see how many mules it would take to carry our Baggage, however I am afraid that it will be a bad day as it is cloudy and has been rainy all day with intermissions. I thought that Marti Augusto Sacrum was the whole of the inscription upon the tour de fer, but the Consul came here this Evening and gave us the inscription after this manner. "Inscription gravée Sur un Roche au pied de la Tour d'hercule. Marti Aug. Sacr. G Serius Lupus Lusitanus Ar. Flaviensis Architectus. ex Voto." Inscription inGraved upon a Rock at the foot of the Tour of hercules. Dedicated to Mars and Augustus. Gaius Serius Lupus Lusitanus Architect of Flaviensis. From desire. It was a Monk who took this inscription from the rock some years ago. Perhaps the translation may not appear very Elegant but the Characters being effaced a great deal, the Monk could not take down the whole of the inscription: but I have translated it as well as I can, and therefore it must go as it is. Flaviensis the Consul informs me is a city in Portugal; he says also that G S L L. is a Portugues.

SUNDAY 26TH.

This Morning Mr. Lagoanere came to our lodgings and told us that we should go at one o clock and that he would accompany us as far as the first stage. This Gentleman is about 45 years old according to my supposition. He is neither handsome nor homely. He is well shaped and a very agreeable Gentleman; he is Consul for the American affairs at Corunna. At about 12 o clock the French Consul came to our lodgings. He embrac'd my Pappa and took leave of us all. He is as I conjecture of about 35 years of age. He is pitted with the Small pox without which he would be handsome. He is a little tall but not overgrown. He is very sociable and very polite. At half after one the Chaises came and any body would think that they were *(as old as Noah's ark)* made in the year one and at a Quarter after two we got into our Chaises.

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A Journal from the time
I left Corunna to the time
I arrived at Astorga.

SUNDAY 26TH.

Their were three Carriages all drawn by Mules, two at each carriage and each carriage carries two persons except one which carries three. The three servant's Andrew¹ Mr. Allen's, John Mr. Dana's, and Stevens My Pappa's rode a Mule back as also did our Guide whose name is Martin, Mr. Lagoanere rode on a horse belonging to him. And thus equipped our caravan set out. In the first carriage was Mr. Allen and Sammy Cooper. One of their Mules had near a Hundred little bells tied round it's neck. Next Mr. Dana, and Mr. Thaxter, one of theirs had some bells but not many. And lastly My Pappa, brother Charles and Myself. Neither of our Mules had any bells. We pass'd I beleive almost 20 crosses. We came about 3 leagues and a half good way and the other half a league was very bad and muddy. I forgot to say that our first stage was 12 Miles off of Corrunna; at about 7 o clock we arrived at a village call'd Betancos. We found a place to lodge for once not among the Mules, however I beleive that we sha'nt have that to boast of long. This city of Betancos otherwise Betanzos was formerly the Capital of the province of Galicia which is to this day call'd the Kingdom of Galicia. We have right against our lodgings a large Church. This also is the place where the archives otherwise call'd records of this province are kept at present.

¹ Andrew Dismié (or Desmia) had been a servant of one of the officers of *La Sensible*. Upon arrival in Spain and with that officer's consent, he served Allen on the

journey from El Ferrol to Bordeaux (JA to the Governor of La Coruña, 18 Dec. 1779; JA to Andrew Dismié, 15 May 1780, both LbC, Adams Papers).

MONDAY 27TH.

This morning at six o clock our ears were assaulted by "Tis time to get up." If the Guide had not have kept his time the bells of the Church opposite us would have kept the time for him, for about a Quarter of an hour after we got up they begun to ring and rung for about a half an hour. Our Muletiers all went to Mass but we were not much obliged to them for it. However, let them do as they please, for I beleive that is the best way. Mr. Lagoanere

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says that there are two convents for men (the Dominican and the Franciscan) and two Nunneries for women. The one which is opposite us is the Dominican. Mr. Lagoanere also says that St. Yago¹ is the Capital of this province by name because the body of St. James was buried there and because the Archbishop is there at present but Corunna is actually the Capital And the Governor of the province and the audience are there. The building in which the archives are kept, is over against us. It is a large building and is not unlike one of the Colleges at Cambridge. The orders of Nuns I do not know; they have besides these a parish Church, but the Carriages are ready and I must go. There is but one Nunnery of women which is of the order of Augustines. At 8 o'clock Mr. Lagoanere took leave of us all and we set out. We pass'd several prodigious mountains and passing over one of them the Axletree of one of our carriages broke and we were obliged to let it stay to have the Axletree mended. We proceeded on and stopt at a Miserable Cottage. In the Chamber Where they put us there was straw, chests, grain, barrels, and chestnuts but however I expect to see more of this yet. We saw a very high rock and on the top of [it?] a Chappel which our guide told us was dedicated to St. Martin. Rain all day with intermissions. We could go but four Leagues to day.

¹ Santiago de Compostela, located about 30 miles south by west of La Coruña, well off the route to France traveled by JA and his party. From medieval times San-

tiago was one of the most frequently visited places of pilgrimage in western Europe (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:418; 4:217-218).

TUESDAY 28TH OF DECEMBER.

This morning we got up at 6 and were stirring at 8. Mr. Dana, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Thaxter rode on Muleback. Pappa, Charles, and I rode a little ways in the Carriage and then got out and walk'd. At 2 o'clock we arrived at a little village call'd Baamonde where we din'd <. At about o'clock P M We set out from to go as far as which is about leagues off of one Another> and I believe we shall lodge there to night.

WEDNESDAY 29TH OF DECEMBER.

This morning at about 8 o'clock we set away from Baamonde and travell'd on. At twelve o'clock we arrived at a Place call'd Ravadan [Rabade]. We stopped there and eat a bit of Bread and

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Cheese. This Village of Ravadan is by the Side of the River Minho [Miño] which empties itself in the Sea in some port in Portugal. At about half after twelve o clock we got into our Carriages and Proceeded as far as Lugo where we arriv'd at half after Three. We have several Times fell in with a Spanish Marquis who has treated my Pappa with a Great deal of Politeness. We are now at the same lodgings with him. We have came 12 Miles a day ever since we left Corunna. There are a great number of English Prisoners here. This afternoon two Irish Gentlemen came, and left their names and about a half an hour after they came here themselves, and very politely invited us all to lodge at their house, but we could not. They stay'd about half an hour and went away. At about 9 o clock P M they sent two very fine pies and 2 bottles of Wine Which was very polite *<of>* in them.

THURSDAY 30TH.

This morning we all got up at 3 o clock but did not set out till 7. We went over several mountains. At about two o clock we stopt and dined at a little cottage by the Side of a River which is call'd Carasedo and from thence we proceeded on as far as a little village call'd Galiego [Gallegos] where we shall lodge this night. This is the best house we have Lodged at since we Left Corunna. We have come 6 Leagues to day.

FRIDAY 31ST.

We had nothing worth remarking to day except we kept ascending all day and we are now at the very top of the mountains. The guide says that this is the worst day that we shall have the whole journey. We came 7 Leagues to day. In my next Volume of my Journal I will give the description of several things which I have not done in this Volume.

End Of the first volume
of my Journal.
1779.

Mamma | |¹
Sister |
Brother |
Mr. Thaxter | | | | | | | | | |

Letters to America
Mamma |²
Sister | |³
Tommy |⁴

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Uncle Smith |
Pappa |||||
Charles |||||
Col. Jonno ||
Sammy |||||
Capt. Tucker |
Captn. Chavagnes |||||
Mr. Allen |||||
Mr. Dana |||||
Coll. Fleury |
French Consul |||||
Flamand |||||
Mr. Lagoanere |||||

Harry Warren |⁵
Josh Green |⁶
Cousin Billy |⁷
Cousin Lucy⁸
George Warren⁹

Letters

Total
|||

¹ These two columns of names with tallies appear on the outside back cover of D/JQA/1. The first column was a crude index for the Diary booklet, indicating the number of references JQA made to the individual listed. See note 1 for entry of 13 Nov. (above). In several instances JQA used superscript numbers to record the sums of his individual tallies in this column, but these have been omitted.

² JQA to AA, 20 Nov. (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:238–239).

³ Neither letter has been found.

⁴ JQA to TBA, 12 Dec. (same, 3:248).

⁵ Letter not found. Henry Warren, son of James and Mercy (Otis) Warren (Mrs. Washington A. Roebling, *Richard Warren of the Mayflower*, Boston, 1901, p. 27–28).

⁶ Letter not found. Joshua Green Jr., son of Joshua and Hannah (Storer) Green; Mrs. Green was an intimate friend and correspondent of AA (Samuel Abbott Green, *An Account of Percival and Ellen Green and of Some of Their Descendants*, Groton, Mass., 1876, p. 23–24).

⁷ Since many of JQA’s letters from Europe to his sister and cousins were primarily copied passages from his Diary entries, JQA here may be referring to a copy of his “Journal from America to France,”

covering the period 12–20 Nov., which apparently came into William Cranch’s hands and was endorsed by him (MHi:Jacob Norton Papers). Cranch (1769–1855), Harvard 1787, was the son of Mary Smith and Richard Cranch, and cousin of JQA. The two were close friends during their years together at Harvard. See entry for 19 March 1787 (below). Cranch studied law in Boston and practiced in the area for a short time before heading to Washington, where he was involved in some ill-fated speculative investments. In 1801 JA appointed him an assistant judge for the circuit court of the District of Columbia, and later Thomas Jefferson appointed him as the court’s chief justice, a position he held throughout his life. Cranch is perhaps more widely known as reporter for the U.S. Supreme Court, in which capacity he served from 1802 to 1817.

⁸ Lucy Cranch (1767–1846), sister of William Cranch, married in 1795 John Greenleaf, a blind musician and brother of Anna (Nancy) Greenleaf, whom Lucy’s brother William married two days later.

⁹ George Warren, son of James and Mercy (Otis) Warren (Roebling, *Richard Warren of the Mayflower*, p. 27–28).

1780 JANUARY 1ST SATURDAY.

This morning Mr. Thaxter wak’d me up by sounding in my ears, I wish you a happy new year and about half an hour before

January 1780

sun rise we sot out from Sebrero which was the place where we lodg'd last night and went 5 leagues before dinner. We stopt at a little cottage where we dined. After dinner we went two leagues and at about 5 o clock we arrived at a city call'd Ville Franc [Villafraanca del Bierzo] where we lodg'd to night. As we were coming along we saw on the Top of a high hill an ancient castle of the moors and right over against us there is a castle of one of the Lords built before the use of musquets were known. There is a convent of men which is of the Franciscan order and a parish church. We have come 7 leagues to day. We expect to arrive at Astorga Monday night. There we shall determine whether to go directly to Bayonne, by the way of Madrid, or by the way of Bilbao [Bilbao] as the routs change there.¹

¹ First entry in D/JQA/2, which covers the period, 1–31 Jan. 1780 and JQA's travels from Sebrero, Spain, to Bordeaux, France. No titlepage was made for this Diary booklet; instead, JQA used the outside pages as the cover, which he illustrated with drawings. This Diary booklet, measuring $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$, consists of six leaves

of paper folded over and stitched. Fifteen pages are used for the Diary, others are left blank, and four pages contain drawings. The cover designs are reproduced in this volume; see the Descriptive List of Illustrations, No. 2, and the entry for 31 Jan., note 1 (below).

2D SUNDAY.

This morning at seven o clock we got up and at 9 o clock set away. We went through several villages and dined at Ponfarada [Ponferrada]. After dinner we went Through several more villages and arrived at a little village call'd Benbibere [Bembibre] at about 6 o clock. We shall lodge at this place to night. We have come 7 Leagues to day.

JANUARY 3D 1780 MONDAY.

This morning we got up at 5 o clock and at 6 we set away from Benbibere. We dined in a little hut amongst the mules and at about 6 o clock we arrived at Astorga. We have had very Good roads all this day. The Guide told us that we had 7 Leagues but we had 10 good English Leagues.

In the first volume of this journal I promised to give a description of several things. I will now give one of the Roads, Houses, men, &c from Corunna as far as this place. The roads in General are very bad. The Lodgings I will not attempt to describe for it is impossible. However I will say something about them. We did



2. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' COVER DESIGNS FOR HIS SECOND DIARY BOOKLET, 1780
See page ix

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not once lodge with the mules but not much better. They shew us chambers in which any body would think a half a dozen hogs had lived there six months. I have in my first volume said something about Castellano.¹ We have not met with any place quite so bad as that but we have come very near it. Sometimes we might see a chimney but it is very seldom. They have a large flat stone in the middle of the room and they punch two or three holes in the roof of the house out of which some of the Smoke goes and the rest must be borne with. They never wash nor sweep their floors from the time the houses are made to the time they are pull'd down. The roofs of the houses are generally a parcel of boards cover'd with straw. As for the People they are Lazy, dirty, Nasty and in short I can compare them to nothing but a parcel of hogs. Their cloaths are commonly of a dirt colour and their Breeches are big enough for to put a bushel of Corn in besides themselves. I do not wonder at it. Poor Creatures they are eat up by their preists. Near three quarters of what they earn goes to the Preists and with the other Quarter they must live as they can. Thus is the whole of this Kingdom deceived and deluded by their Religion. I thank Almighty God that I was born in a Country where any body may get a good living if they Please. Thus have I given a description of several things. At another opportunity I will give one of several others.

¹ A reference to the deplorable lodging conditions in Castellano, the town in which they stayed on the night of 27 Dec. on their journey from Betanzos to Baamond, which was described vividly and at length by JA (*Diary and Autobiography*, 4:214–216).

4TH TUESDAY.

This morning our Guide told us that the Chaises had several things to be mended and that we could not go to day. At about 12 o'clock I with Mr. Dana Mr. Allen Mr. Thaxter and S C Johonnot went to see the Cathedral but the man was gone to dinner and the door was shut. The Gentlemen went again after dinner but I did not go with them. I here will say a little about this Town. The streets are very filthy and muddy. There are four convents here two of men and two of women one of each sex Franciscan and one of each sex Dominican, there is a Cathedral in this town which the Gentlemen say is very Magnificent and Elegant. This is a very ancient city. The walls our Guide Tells us are 600 years old. There is but very little of them remaining. The Cathedral

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was struck by Lightning in the year 1776 which knockt down one part of it. In side of it there is the picture of St. Michael the Archangel trampling the Devil under his feet and out Side of it is carved a picture of Christ upon the Cross and in a nother place (outside also) is carved the virgin Mary holding a cross in her hand. All this show cannot come from the Heart but is all out side appearance.

5TH WEDNESDAY.

This morning at about sun rise we set of[f] from Astorga with very fine weather and roads. We dined at a little village the name of which I do not know. We arrived at Leon at about 6 o clock. Before we arriv'd we came through a strait road with a row of trees on each side, at the end of it is a very large building which our Guide tells us is a College dedicated to St. Marcus. We made several twistings and turnings and at last arrived at a house in which we shall lodge to night. It is eight Leagues from Astorga here and the roads are very fine all the way.

THURSDAY 6TH.

This morning we asked a man how many convents there were in Leon. He wrote what follows.

Noticia de los Conbentos queay en esta Ciudad de Leon
de Freiles

De St. Francisco	2
De St. Domingo	1
De St. Claudio Benitos	1
	<hr/> 4

De Monjas

De St. Benito	1
De la concepcion	1
Des Colzas	1
Recoleta	1
	<hr/> 4

Canonigos

Cassa de San Isidro	1
Cassa de San Marcus	1
	} 2

Parroquias

Catedral y parroquias	9
	<hr/> Total 19

January 1780

Notice of the Convents in this city of Leon. &c.

I now will take down the name of our Guide and those of the postillions and men that go on foot.

Senior Miguel Martinus our Guide.

Senior Raymon San, the Master of all the Carriages and the Mules which draw them.

Senior Diego¹ the postillon who drives Mr. Allens carriage.

Eosebio Seberino the postilion who drives Pappa's carriage.

Joseph Diaz the postilion who drives Mr. Dana and Mr. Thaxter.

Bernardo Bria the owner of the Mules which Stevens and the Guide ride upon.

Juan Blanco the owner of the Mules which John and Andrew ride upon.

As this city is a large one we shall stay here till 10 o'clock.

10 o'clock AM

I have been to see the Cathedral which is so Exceeding rich and magnificent that it is beyond the reach of my pen to describe it. This Cathedral has only a bishop belonging to it. Our Guide tells us that there are but 4 Archbishops In this Kingdom one in Galicia one in Burgos one in and one in ² that the rest of the Cathedrals have bishops only. We saw the procession. The bishop passd. Our Guide told us to kneel. I did. He gave me his Benidiction but I did not feel the better for it. As we were coming back we saw the Castle of King Alphonsus which he built to drive out the Moors. It is 1938 years old. At 12 o'clock we dined and at 1 set away from Leon and went as far as Manzilla which is 3 Leagues from Leon.

¹ Identified as Diego Antonio in JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:422.

² Two blank spaces in MS.

FRIDAY 7TH.

This morning we set away from Manzilla with good weather and roads but very cold. We stopt and dined at a little village the name of which I donot know¹ and at 5 o'clock P M arrived at St. Juan le Segun [Sahagún] which is a Small city at 6 Leagues from Manzillo.

¹ Referred to by Dana as Burgo, or more precisely, El Burgo Ranero (Dana, Journal).

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SATURDAY 8TH.

Fine weather. We came through several villages. We have come seven leagues to day. At about 6 o clock we arrived at a little village called Parades [Paredes] de Naba. Very bad accommodations to night.

SUNDAY 9TH.

Cloudy weather. We din'd at Palentia [Palencia] which is a city as Large as Corunna. At about 7 oclock P.M. we arrived at Torre quemada [Torquemada] which is 7 Leagues from Parades de naba.

MONDAY 10TH.

This morning at 7 o clock we set away from Torre quemada. Just after we set away we went over a Bridge with 25 Arches to it and at about ten o clock we went over another with 18 Arches to it. We dined at a little village the name of which it is not necessary to mention and at about half after five arrived at Sellada el Camino where we shall lodge to night. It is 8 leagues from Torre quemada.

TUESDAY 11TH.

This morning at 7 1/2 we set away from Sellada el Cameno. At about 10 o clock it began to snow and snow'd about a Quarter of an Hour. At about 12 o clock we arrived at Burgos which is a City about as big as Corunna. We shall lodge [here] to night. We have come 4 Leagues to day. I said that at Astorga we should determine the routs, we did determine not to go to Madrid but we shall determine at this place whether to go to Bilboa or directly to Bayonne.

This afternoon we all went to the Cathedral which is larger Than Those at Astorga and Leon (tho' not so Magnificent). It was supported by, four of the largest pillars That I ever saw in my life. There are no less than 33 religious Houses in the place. Their orders are these.

Conbentos de Fraires

Franciscos	1	Dominicos	1
La Trinidad	1	Mercenarios	1

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Benitos	1	Carmelitos	1
Augustinos	2		
			<hr/> 8

Parroquias 15

Cathedral y St. Yago		St. Martin	1
de la Capilla	⟨2⟩	St. Pedro	1
St. Nicholas	1	St. Cosmos	1
Sn. Roman	1	St. Lesmes	1
La Blanca	1	St. Esteban	1
Bejaria	1	St. Gil	1

Combentos de Monjas

Sta. Dorotea		Trinitarias	1
Agustinos	1	Bernardos [Bernardas]	2
Sta. Franciscas	2	Benitas	1
Carmelitas	1	Catatrabas	1
Agustinas	1	St. il de fouso [Fonso?]	1

Total

De Monjas	10	Paroquias	15
Frailes	8		
			<hr/> 33 ¹

¹ This enumeration includes several discrepancies. JQA lists eleven instead of the fifteen parishes mentioned by the Adamses' informant, their guide, and the number of nunneries recorded was actually eleven rather than ten (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:427-428).

WEDNESDAY 12TH.

Good weather. Set away from Burgos and pursued our journey. Dined at a little village and at about 6 o'clock arrived at a village called Bibrieski [Briviesca]. We have come 8 Leagues to day. Very Muddy. The roads something hilly.

THURSDAY 13TH.

Rose at about day break and set away 1/2 an hour before sun rise. Passed through several villages and dined at Pan Courbo. Before dinner we went along in a Plain between two ridges of mountains the soil of which is excellent and after dinner we

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went along another plain betwixt two ridges of rocks some of which were 150 200 and 300 foot in height some right strait up, some hanging over our heads, and some slanting from us but I never saw so beautiful a sight in all my life. After dinner we pass'd two villages. I went forward with the Guide and Stevens to find the lodging. Tolerable good roads to day, we have come 8 Leagues, to day. We determined to go to Bilboa [Bilbao]. The name of this place is Espexo [Espejo].

FRIDAY 14.

This morning we set away at about sun rise. We came two leagues and then went a league up hill and then another League down hill. This was a road made through a mountain I suppose 300 foot in Height and all the way almost perpendicular. We came 4 Leagues before dinner and dined at Orduña a little city with gates to it at the foot of the mountain. After we had passed the mountain we saw some ways off a Convent which a man whom we stopped said was of women and were of the Franciscan order. After dinner we went a plain road about 2 leagues to a small village called Luyando where we shall lodge to night. We have come 6 Leagues to day.

SATURDAY 15TH.

This morning we rose at about day break and at about a half an hour before Sun rise we set off from Luyando. At about 8 o clock it began to rain, rain'd till about 12 and then left of[f] raining but it did not clear up. At about 1 oclock we arrived at Bilbao.

When we arrived we found two American Vessels one a brig Capt Bapson belonging to the Tracy's of New-bury port and the other a Ship of 18 6 pounders Capt Lovett belonging to one of the Cobet's of Beverly.¹ After dinner Mr. Gardoqui came to where we lodge and my Pappa and the Gentlemen being gone out he gave me his address and about an hour after he came again with Captn. Bapson and drank tea and spent the Evening with us.

¹ The vessels were the brigantine *Phoenix*, James Babson, captain, and the ship *Rambler*, commanded by Benjamin Lovett and owned by Andrew Cabot. The Traceys and the Cabots had close connections with the Bilbao firm of Joseph Gardoqui &

Sons. During the Adamses' stay in Bilbao, the Gardoquis extended numerous courtesies to them, treating JA "with the Magnificence of a Prince" (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:433; 4:236-237; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:xiv-xv).

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SUNDAY 16TH.

Went to look about the Town. Saw nothing worth remarking. The two Mr. Gardoqui's Capt. Bapson and Captain Lovett Spent the Evening here.

MONDAY 17TH.

All the Gentlemen dined at Mr. Gardoqui's but I being unwell did not go. Settled with Raymon and our Guide and all the boys.

TUESDAY 18TH.

Felt better to day. We all dined at home to day. We expect to set out for Bayonne on Thursday. Nothing remarkable to day.

WEDNESDAY 19TH.

To day all the Gentlemen went down the river except Mr. Dana and myself. At about 6 o clock they came back. Mr. Gardoqui's stay'd here about a half an hour, and then went away and about a half an hour after Sent us the french newspapers but there was no news.

THURSDAY 20TH.

Sot out about 3 o clock P M. Nothing remarkable.¹

¹ Gaps appear among the final days recorded in JQA's second Diary booklet. There were no entries for 21-22 Jan., on which days the party was en route from Bilbao to Bayonne; for 24 Jan., the day they

spent in that French provincial town; and 26-28 Jan., while traveling to Bordeaux. Some details of this part of their trip are provided in JA's *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:238-239, and in Dana's Journal.

SUNDAY 23D.

Nothing remarkable for these 3 days. At about 5 o clock P M arrived at Bayonne. Nothing more remarkable to day.

TUESDAY 25TH.

Set away at about 9 o clock. At about half after 9 began to Snow. Snow'd 2 hours. Went 45 miles to day.

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SATURDAY 29TH.

Nothing remarkable Since we left Bayonne. At about 5 arrived at Bordeaux. Mr. Vernon¹ and Mr. Bonfeild² came to see us.

¹ William Vernon Jr., also known as William H. Vernon, was the son of a wealthy Newport, R.I., merchant and member of the Continental Navy Board. To gain experience in trade young Vernon had been sent to France under JA's care at the time Adams made his first voyage to Europe in 1778 (JA, *Diary and Autobiogra-*

phy, 2:271; 4:9).

² John Bondfield, a merchant with the firm Bondfield, Hayward & Co., had been commercial agent for the United States at Bordeaux and other French ports since March 1778 (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 1:384; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:294; 4:35-36, 96-97).

SUNDAY 30TH.

We all dined at Mr. Bonfeild's. After dinner went to the play. Had *Amphitryon* and *Cartouche*.¹

¹ Probably Molière's *Amphitryon*, but possibly Jean Baptiste Ragueneau, *Amphitryon, ou les deux arlequins*, a musical parody of Molière's play, n.p., 1713; Marc An-

toine Legrand, *Cartouche, ou les voleurs*, Paris, 1721 (Cioranescu, *Bibliographie du dix-septième siècle*; Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

MONDAY 31ST.

Went about to see the town. Saw the Shipping which made a Grand appearance.¹ The Gentlemen dined out but us youngers² dined at home. After dinner we went to the hotel d'Angleterre and after that to the comedy, but could find no places.³

¹ Such scenes of "a Grand appearance" may have inspired several sketches of ships and soldiers which appear at the end of this Diary booklet, on the last leaf and on the inside of the back cover. These sketches come after two blank leaves (which follow this last diary entry) that JQA may have intended to fill, but never did, with his descriptions of travel from Bordeaux to Paris during the following week. For details about the sketches, see

the Descriptive List of Illustrations, No. 3.

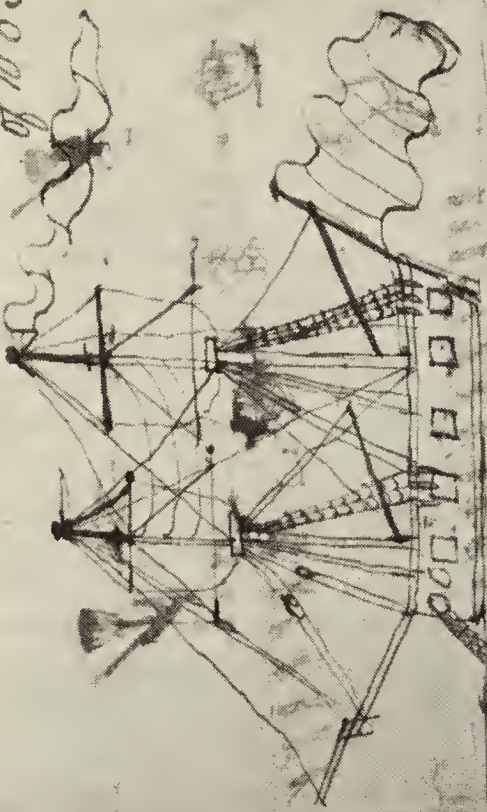
² Dutch, for youngsters.

³ This is the last extant entry in D/JQA/2. There is some indication that the Diary may have been continued in this booklet on the following day, 1 Feb., the last day the party stayed in Bordeaux. On the following leaf in the MS the top quarter has been torn off, but part of one or possibly two unidentifiable words survive along the torn edge.

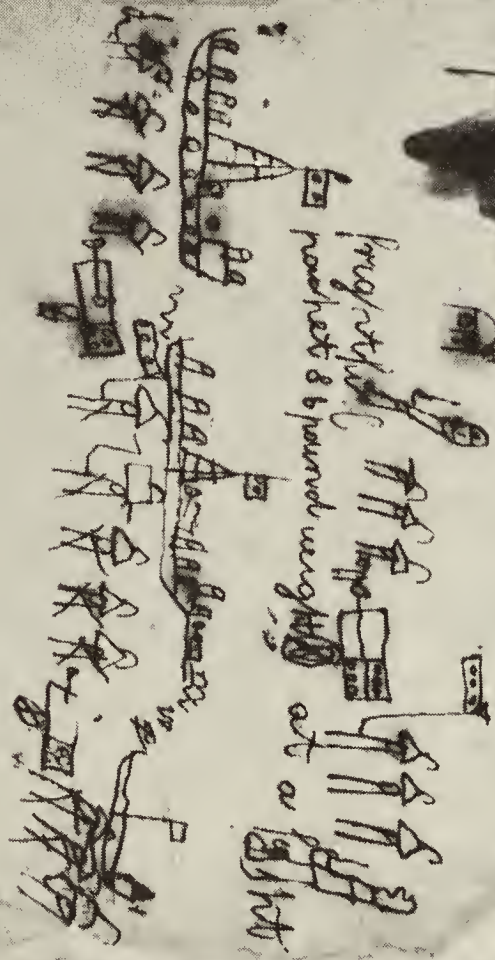
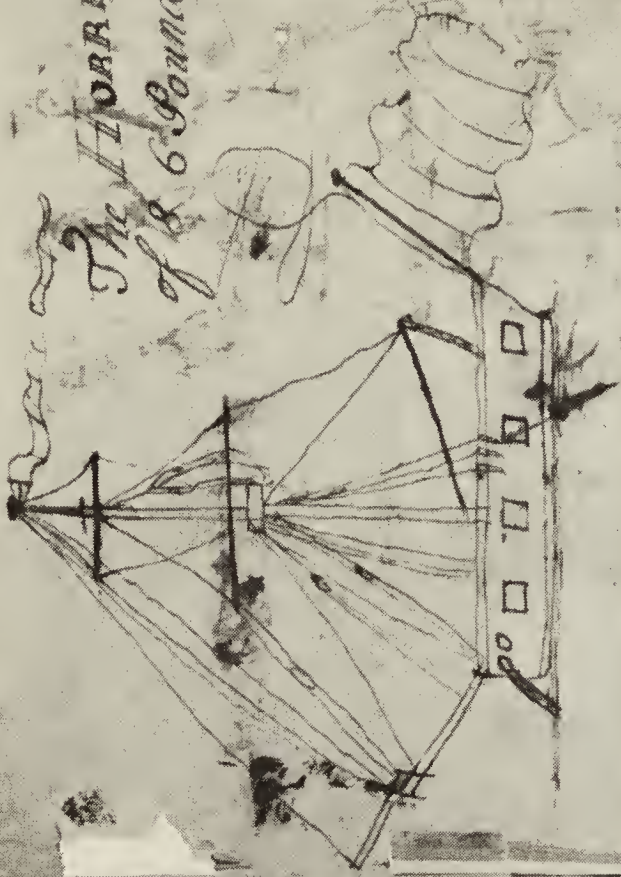
a¹ e A. b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u,
⟨received[?]⟩ u h, z o mb w, e, a, f k, v i,
 v, w, x, y, z
 j

⟨Dear⟩

The FRIGHTFUL
of 10 6 Pounds



The HORRIBLE
of 8 6 Pounds



fragments of
hatched & painted weights at a distance

3. "SAW THE SHIPPING WHICH MADE A GRAND APPEARANCE"
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Journal	L		
Jaulvob.	D.		
Siumcez	⟨[...]⟩	r.	
Saufrit			⟨august[?]⟩
	jaulvob		⟨a[...]⟩
		⟨have⟩	
Journal.		⟨a[...]⟩	
Jaulvob.			
Siumcez.	f		o
Saufrit.			⟨favours⟩

¹ Titlepage of D/JQA/3, covering the period 25 July–30 Sept. 1780, which describes JQA's journey from France to Holland and his settlement there, where JA began efforts which later culminated in Dutch recognition and financial aid to the American colonies. This Diary booklet, approximately $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, is subdivided by JQA into three distinct "volumes," as he described them, corresponding to three twelve-leaf sections which have been sewn together with two blank pages between volumes two and three. The divisions occur at 17–18 Aug. and 9–10 Sept.

The titlepage was written probably sometime between 25 July and 10 Sept., when JQA seems to have perfected part of the cipher which is started here. Presumably he began at the top of the titlepage a simple transposition of the alphabet, which is perfected and used in the enciphered message found on the second of two otherwise blank leaves separating entries for 9 and 10 Sept. Near the left margin at the center and bottom of the titlepage, JQA appears to manipulate a seven-letter word combination, presumably generated from the word "Journal." There are other markings to the right of these, most of which have been crossed out and probably have little or no connection with the rest.

After 31 Jan., the day on which JQA's second Diary booklet ended, he and the other Americans continued on their way to Paris. The party left Bordeaux on 2 Feb., traveled through Angoulême, Poitiers, Tours, and Orléans, and arrived in Paris late in the afternoon of 9 Feb. The Adamses took lodgings at the Hôtel de Valois in the rue de Richelieu, where JA

was to remain until he left for Holland the following July. While JA visited Benjamin Franklin at Passy, the Comte de Vergennes, French secretary of state for foreign affairs, at Versailles, and others during his first week in the French capital, JQA, CA, and Sammy Johonnot were placed in school in Passy the day after their arrival. There they attended the pension academy of M. Pechigny and his wife, which was highly popular among Americans who had children in France (Dana, *Journal*; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:272–273). JQA's American schoolmates at Pechigny's may have been the same who attended Le Coeur's school with him in 1778–1779. Few, however, can be identified. One was Jesse Deane, son of Silas Deane, the American Commissioner in Paris whom JA replaced. Young Deane had originally come to France in 1778 with JA and JQA and remained in Europe until 1783, living with his father in Ghent and London during the last two years. Another American student at Passy who attended Le Coeur's and possibly Pechigny's school was Charles B. Cochran, a South Carolinian, who later returned to his native state to practice law and served in the state legislature. There may have been other Americans at the school, but none was subsequently mentioned by JQA (entry for 5 Sept., below; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:271; John B. O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, 2 vols., Charleston, 1859, 2:600; Walter B. Edgar, ed., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2 vols., Columbia, 1974, 1:238, 267; Cochran to JQA, 5 June 1809, Adams Papers).

JQA's course of study at Pechigny's in-

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cluded Latin and Greek, geography, mathematics, writing, and drawing. When JA wrote to Pechigny some months later he asked that his sons be excused from dancing and fencing instruction and requested that they "attend the Drawing and Writing Masters, and bend all the rest of their Time and attention, to Latin, Greek, and French, which will be more useful and necessary for them in their own Country, where they are to spend their Lives." Somewhat earlier JA had advised JQA to concentrate on Latin and Greek, "leaving the other studies to be hereafter attained, in your own Country" (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:348, 309). While JA found his sons' schooling expensive, he was "well satisfied with the Care that is taken of them, and with the progress they make." For JQA's part, he was "very content with [his] situation" during the half year he was to remain there (same). In addition to letters about his studies, the Adams Papers also contain a copy of JQA's English translation of La Fontaine's fables, made between 31 March and 16 Aug. 1780 (M/JQA/42, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 237).

In midsummer 1780 JA left Paris for Amsterdam with his two sons. For his reasons for doing so, see JA, *Diary and Autobi-*

ography, 2:434–435, as well as the sources mentioned there. On 30 Aug., JQA and CA were placed as boarding students in the well-known Latin School on the Singel, in the heart of the city. The school is described in some detail in the diary entries which follow. Regrettably, JQA's Diary ends a month later and is not resumed until the following summer, but not before he hinted of growing difficulties with the native language and the segregation imposed, "because we dont understand the Dutch." Attempts to overcome language problems may also help to explain why the pair remained at the school during a three-week vacation a short while later. JA, with whom the boys spent Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and Sundays, became so displeased with their course of studies that he wrote, though never sent, a letter to Rector Verheyk, preceptor of the school, complaining about his holding JQA back, which he regarded as "a damage to interrupt him in Greek, which he might go on to learn without understanding Dutch." Matters came to a head on 10 Nov., when JA promptly removed them from the school after he received a strongly worded letter from Verheyk (entry for 6 Sept., below; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:10, 11–12).

TUESDAY 25TH OF JULY.

At about eleven o'clock took leave of all my Schoolmates, and went to Paris, with an intention to set out for Holland on Thursday, next.

WEDNESDAY 26TH.

Prepared everything for the journey. In the afternoon pappa went to Dr. Franklin's for a Passport.¹

¹ At this time American ministers were empowered to issue passports to Americans traveling in the country to which they were accredited (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:xv).

THURSDAY 27TH.

Stevens went to the lieutenant of the Police for a passport to go out of the kingdom. He could not get it till 10 o'clock. At twelve o'clock we dined. Mr. Austin,¹ Mr. Appleton,² Mr. Dana,

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Mr. Thaxter Mr. Fox³ Captn. Robinson and Dr. Foulk⁴ took leave of us and at about 10 o'clock we set out. We passed over the boulevards and out of the porte St. Martin and left Paris. We had very good roads passed over some land very well cultivated and at about ten o'clock at night we arrived at Compiègne which is a small city and a very old one. We came 9 Posts and a half which is 57 Miles to day.

¹ Jonathan Loring Austin, one-time secret agent for Franklin in England and secretary for JA at Passy, had come back to Europe in a vain endeavor to secure a loan for Massachusetts from Dutch, French, and Spanish authorities (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 16:303-308; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:262-263).

² John Appleton, son of Nathaniel Appleton, the commissioner of the Continental Loan Office and Boston merchant, was in Paris on mercantile business and later followed the Adams' party to Holland, carrying letters for JA (Francis Dana to JA, 31 July, *Adams Papers*; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:390, where the date of Dana's

letter is incorrectly given as 31 Aug.).

³ George Fox, an American traveler in Europe, portrayed as a man of "fortune and genius," sympathetic to the promotion of agriculture, natural history, and the arts in America (Anne H. Cresson, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph Fox, Esq., of Philadelphia," *PMHB*, 32:196 [April 1908]; *Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 2:243).

⁴ Dr. John Foulke, described in Benjamin Rush's letter of introduction for him to JA as "a young gentleman of a respectable Quaker family who goes to France to finish his Studies in Medicine" (Benjamin Rush to JA, 28 April, *Adams Papers*).

FRIDAY 28TH OF JULY 1780.

This morning we got up at about 5 o'clock. We breakfasted upon tea and the Horses being come at about 6 o'clock we set away from Compiègne. We had very good roads. We dined in the carriage and went as far as Valenciennes. At a small city call'd Cambray we were stopped to be search'd but by the means of a half a crown conducted into their hands we passed along. At Valenciennes we were stopped again for the same thing twice but by the foresaid Manner we passed along. We Shall lodge at the sign of the swan; we got in at about half after nine o'clock. This is the last city in France. The whole country which we have passed over to day is cultivated, we saw wheat, rye, Barley, oats, flax, and all sorts of grain. What difference there is from this part of the country than from going from Paris to Nantes!

SATURDAY 29TH 1780.

This Morning we got up at about 7 o'clock and at about half after seven we set away from VALENCIENNES. We were stopped a going out of the city by the excisemen but by the way

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of yesterday passed along. When we had got almost at the end of our post we were stopped again, but the same way and we passed along. But at the end of the post we were stopped and by the excisemen who belong to her Majesty the Empress Queen;¹ we were searched and our trunk was plumbed. Her Majesty's arms were stamped on a bit of Lead and put on to our trunk, which hinders our being stopped any more. We passed by MONS which is a city and a very pretty one. The Meadows all around it, the sheperds flocks, cattle feeding, the green orchards, made a beautiful prospect. In fine, I never saw a more beautiful one in my life; at about half after five we arrived at Bruxelles. Pappa went out to find Mr. Jennings² but he was not at home. My pappa met Mrs. Izard³ in the street. At about eight o clock Mr. Jennings came to our lodgings (we lodge at L'hotel de *L'Imperatrice*) and stay'd some time after which he went away.

¹ Maria Theresa (1717–1780), Archduchess of Austria and Empress of the Hapsburg dominions which included the Austrian Netherlands (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

² Edmund Jenings, Maryland-born, English-educated lawyer and commercial agent who moved from England to Brussels, where he proved helpful to JA in placing pro-American articles in the British press. For a more thorough account of Jenings' connection with JA and his other activities and subsequent disappointments, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:355–356.

³ Mrs. Alice Izard, a De Lancey from New York, was the wife of Ralph, a wealthy South Carolina plantation owner

and U.S. commissioner to the court of Tuscany in 1777. He was just returning to America, recalled by the congress. The government of Tuscany had never received Izard as commissioner. Consequently, he had remained in France, where he and Franklin quarreled bitterly over his prerogatives (*Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a Short Memoir. Volume I.*, ed. Anne Izard Deas, N.Y., 1844, p. v–vi). The Izards' numerous offspring, several of whom JQA mentions in the following day's entry, cannot be specifically identified, but they are listed in Langdon Cheves, "Izard of South Carolina," *S.C. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, 2:205–240 (July 1901).

SUNDAY 30TH.

This Morning Pappa went out and at about half after one came home with Mr. Jennings who dined here. After dinner we went to the parc. We walked there some time after which we went to the cathedral. We met Mr. Jennings's Nephew whose name is Bordly.¹ We heard part of a sermon spoke in Flemish. We saw an alter the banisters of which were of Solid silver and cost 30000 Pound sterling. We heard some very good musick: after which we went to Mr. Lee's,² a little after we got there Mrs. Izard, her son, and two daughters, came and a Miss Steed.³ We drank tea at

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Mr. Lee's, and stay'd there till about eight oclock P.M. when My Pappa, Mr. Lee, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Bordly, my Brother Charles and myself took a walk down the town and saw the canals; we walk'd along upon the ramparts which was a very agreeable place: and at about half after nine we got home to our lodgings.

¹ This is probably either Matthias or John, sons of John Beale Bordley, the agriculturist, a half-brother of Jennings (DAB; Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family, of Maryland . . .*, Phila., 1865, p. 21-26, 78-79).

² William Lee, brother of Richard Henry and Arthur Lee, chosen by congress as commercial agent at Nantes in 1777 and made commissioner to the courts of Berlin and Vienna later in the year. Like Izard,

however, Lee failed to gain recognition and was recalled in 1779. He decided to remain in Europe, making Brussels his residence until his return to Virginia in 1783 (DAB).

³ Mary Stead, sister of Elizabeth Stead Izard and sister-in-law of Ralph Izard Jr. ("Izard of South Carolina," *S.C. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, 2:236 [July 1901]; "South Carolina Gleanings in England," same, 4:237 [July 1903]).

MONDAY 31ST OF JULY 1780.

This morning Pappa went to Mr. Jennings's lodgings but he was not at home. At about half after eleven o'clock Mr. Lee came here and stay'd till about half after twelve. At about twelve Mr. Jennings came and at about one we went to take a walk. We went to the place Royale. We saw the portico out of which the Counts Egmont and Horn came to be executed. It is at present barr'd up and there are two pillars near it and it is a sanctuary for any person who has committed a crime. There is a New Library building there. There is also the statue of Prince Charles there but it is said to be very badly done. From thence we went down to the grande Place, and we saw the *Hotel de Ville, on the top of which is St. Michael trampling the devil under his feet, most magnificently done*, on the other side of the Place is another large building on which is this inscription in Letters of gold A PESTE FAME, ET BELLO LIBERA, NOS MARIA PACIS. HIC VOTUM PACIS PUBLICÆ ÆLYSABET CONSECRAVIT.¹ After this we went to Mr. Lee's house where we found Mr. Bordly. We dined and drank tea there: after tea Mr. Bordly, My Brother Charles, and myself, went to the Park. We walk'd there a little while and went back to Mr. Lee's but he being gone out we took another turn to the Park. We walked all round the ramparts and had a very pretty view of the town. We saw *the statue of Philip 2d*. He had a scepter in his hand and a very menacing look. We after this came home and at about ten o'clock Pappa got home.

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¹ “From pestilence, hunger, and war free us, Mary of Peace. This vow [or payment of a vow] for public peace Elizabeth consecrated.” This Elizabeth was possibly the wife of Philip II of Spain.

TUESDAY 1ST OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning at about half after ten Mr. Jennings came here and at about half after eleven Pappa Mr. Jennings and Brother Charles went to take a walk. At about twelve they got back again. A little after twelve My Brother Charles and myself went to Mr. Bordly's lodgings but he was not at home. Mr. Jennings dined at our Hotel. At about four o'clock Mr. Lee came to see my Pappa. At Six o'clock my Brother Charles and I went to the Play where we saw *Les Trois Fermiers* and *Rose et Colas*.¹ The actors play but indifferently in this town. At about nine o'clock we got home.

¹ Jacques Marie Boutet de Monvel, *Les trois fermiers*, Paris, 1777; Pierre Alexandre de Monsigny, *Rose et Colas*, with music by Michel Jean Sedaine, Paris, 1764 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

WEDNESDAY 2D OF AUGUST 1780.

This Morning my Brother Charles went to find Mr. Bordly but he was not at home. Charles and I went to find him at his Uncles but met him on the way there. We went in to water with him some ways out of town and got home about dinner time. Mr. Jennings came here after dinner and in the Evening Pappa and he went to take a walk. Mr. Bordly spent the Evening here. At about Nine o'clock Pappa and Mr. Jennings got back and Mr. Jennings stay'd here about a half an hour and then went to his lodgings.

THURSDAY 3D.

This morning Mr. Jennings came and at about nine o'clock he took leave of us and we set out from Bruxelles. After we had got out of the town we passed along a very beautiful canal. At about 4 o'clock we arrived at Anvers, which is 4 Posts or 24 Miles from Bruxelles. After we got there Pappa went and made a bargain with a boat man to go to Rotterdam but having arrived at our lodgings Pappa Changed his mind and took a Carriage for to morrow and we shall leave ours here. I went to see the Exchange. The Exchange at London was founded from this fashion.

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FRIDAY 4TH OF AUGUST.

This morning we set away at about 5 o'clock. We went about two leagues on the pavements and then had for 9 leagues nothing but sand. We were stopped for the last time in her Majesties dominions and for the first in Holland. We got out of the sand and passed over a river we got at about 2 o'clock P.M. At Moerdyk we passed a River and we took there a nother Carriage and went for Rotterdam. We arrived there at about half after six. We passed two rivers before we got there. We passed up a Canal and stopped before the door of the *Hotel du Marechal de Turenne* where we shall lodge.

SATURDAY 5TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa brother Charles and myself went to see a Gentleman¹ for whom Pappa had Letters: he invited us to dine with him. After that we went to see the city. We saw the statue of Erasmus,² he is in the Grande Place, he holds a book in his hand, there are four inscriptions under it, two in Latin and two in dutch: we walk'd about the town, and came back at about twelve o'clock, we went upon the Exchange, where we met Mr. Dubblemuts, (for that is the Gentleman's name) and went and dined with him with some other Gentlemen who speak English. After dinner we went to walk with a Gentleman who speaks French. Pappa bought a dutch Grammar; after walking about the town some time we came home and drank tea. A little after tea the same Gentleman with whom we walked came and took us in to Mr. Dubblemuts coach and we went to his country seat. We saw some other Gentlemen there who spoke English. We supped there and after supper we came home in Mr. Dubblemuts carriage with a Nephew of his. After we got home Pappa received a Letter from Mr. Jennings with a Card from Mr. Douglass³ who had came to day from Antwerp and who is lodged in this house. The letter informs that there are fifteen sail of American Vessels arrived at Bordeaux, who brought an account that the Americans were not at all struck at the loss of Charlestown [Charleston], that there was no news heard of Mr. de Ternay the 14th. of June. The letter says also that Mr. D'Estaing had been overturn'd in a Chaise in his way to Bordeaux.⁴ Mr. Jennings had came to Antwerp on Purpose to overtake us.

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¹ JA refers to him as Mr. Dubbeldemuts (*Diary and Autobiography*, 2:445). The Rotterdam mercantile firm of F. & A. Dubbeldemuts was interested in improving their connections with America and became supporters of JA's efforts to achieve Dutch recognition of American independence.

² In the margin: "This is the city where Erasmus was born."

³ The letter described Douglass as a man "of Holland" and of "Scot[tis]h Extraction," who lived retired in Brussels and had been "in the East Indias" (Jenings to JA, 5 Aug., Adams Papers).

⁴ Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay, was the French admiral who escorted Rochambeau's expeditionary force on 2 May from Brest, arriving off Newport, R.I., on 10 July. The British, under Adm. Thomas Graves, quickly moved to blockade Ternay's escape, and the French languished there until the following year. Meanwhile, Ternay died in Newport in December (Howard C. Rice Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, transls. and eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1972, 1:117-121, 125-126).

SUNDAY 6TH 1780.

At about 8 o'clock got up and at about half after nine Pappa brother Charles and myself went to a Protestant Church (*where they spoke English*). We heard a very good sermon. At about twelve o'clock we got home. We dined at our lodgings and at about 5 o'clock we drank tea there. After tea we went to take a walk. We walked all about the town and got back at about half after six. I will now give a short description of this town. It is not a very large city but it is very agreeable. There are Seven canals which pass through the town a great number of Small vessels in them but there are no large vessels in this harbour. In each street which is on the side of the water there is a row of Trees. There are 4 Churches in Rotterdam 2 of which are Protestants and the other 2 are catholicks. Most all this town are Protestants but there are also a great number of Catholicks. There are about 70,000 inhabitants in this city. There are a great number of draw bridges here. There are a Great number of English in this town. I have heard that near half the inhabitants are Englishmen. There are also a great number of English shops here but there are very few French here. I have seen no Frenchmen at all in this city.

The text to day was. For I say through the grace given unto me to every man that is among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think but to think soberly according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of Faith. Romans twelvth chapter third verse.

MONDAY 7TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning we got up at about 7 o'clock and at about half after eight we set away from our Hotel. We went down to the

boat and went on board. We went along down by some very beautiful meadows Where the cattle were feeding made it very beautiful. We went through Delft. We changed boats there. At Rotterdam Pappa bought a book which gives a description of Delft and I will take it down.¹

This city is in the Neighbourhood of the Hague, a day or at least an Afternoon cannot be better spent than in going to see it. The Generality of Travellers indeed pass thro it on their way from Rotterdam to the Hague but that is always done in an Hurry, in order to secure the first boat that goes off for the Hague, without allowing themselves sufficient Time for viewing so considerable a City.

Delft is but five Miles or a large Hour from the Hague but a Chaise with a good Horse will run it in half that Time. The Road is exceedingly fine. The Village of Ryswick [Rijswijk] is left a little on the right, and one drives on to the Canal, over which there is a bridge, which being passed, the fine Road continues along the Side of the Canal quite to Delft.

Without the Gate there is a fine Grove of Trees, under the Shade of which Passengers generally take a Turn, till the Boat for the Hague goes off. From the opposite Gate the Canal, which goes to Rotterdam is very broad at which there is an handsome Key or Landing place, adorned with Trees. Here the Yachts which bring the Deputies [of the several Provinces to the Assemblies of the Hague, have their Station. The Deputies]² quit the Vessels here, and take Coach for the Hague. These Yachts are exquisitely beautiful and rich the Provinces and Cities vying with each other, which shall have the finest Yachts for the Accommodation of their Representatives. Their Burden generally is from about 30 to 50 Tons. They are adorned with streamers and carry Guns, with Trumpets and other musick which is very sweet on the Water. Colliers from Scotland also unload here, and furnish the Inhabitants of Delft the Hague and Leyden with Coals.

This City as indeed all the rest of the Province, lies in the midst of beautiful meadows. It is surrounded with a Wall, and a Trench full of Water; it is above two Miles more in circumference than it is broad,³ and consists chiefly of two beautiful Streets, that lie parallel. They are almost a Mile in Length adorned with Trees and canals, over which are many handsome

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stone bridges. All here is as calm and still as in the midst of the country Delft being inhabited chiefly by rich People who have quitted Business for the sake of Retirement.

The remarkable buildings and other things here, are the old Palace, where Prince William, Prince of Orange, the Founder of the State and of its Glory, was treacherously murder'd by an Emissary of Phillip IId. King of Spain. He was shot with a Pistol charged with three Bullets, just as he was rising from Table, and ordering the Assassin a Passport to go to a certain Place whither he was sending him. The Balls enter'd the Prince's Temples and lodged in the Wall: the Holes they made in it are still shewn to Strangers. After the Prince received the Wound he died immediately, saying only, LORD HAVE MERCY ON MY SOUL AND ON THIS POOR PEOPLE. The People lamented him as their common Father and never was a Funeral celebrated with greater Pomp, and more real Sorrow. He was only one and fifty Years old at his Death; but lived long enough to humble a proud lawless Tyrant, to assert the Liberty of his Country, to establish a national church, and found a glorious commonwealth by his wisdom and Valour. The Assassin Balthazar Gherard [Gérard] was soon after executed and died so hardened as to say He would do it if it were to be done again. That villain is inrolled by some Roman Catholick Monasteries amongst their Martyrs.

The Remains of this great Prince were interred in the new Church here and the Republick caused a magnificent Mausoleum to be erected over them to perpetuate the Glory of her Founder, and her Gratitude for the inestimable Services she had received from him. The Effigies of the Prince is represented in Marble with his statue standing by it in Brass compleatly armed with This motto TE VINDICE TUTA LIBERTAS; You were the Champion and Preserver of our Liberty; and another Emblem representing the Prince going on steadily in a Storm, with these Words, Sævis tranquillus in undis. At his feet lies the Figure of a Dog which is said to have died of Grief when he was murdered. There are four other Princes and Princesses of his Family interr'd in this Monument. The last of whom was a Princess, Daughter of the present Prince and Princess of Orange, that died at her birth in 1735. The corpse was exposed upon a bed of State during three Days to the view of the People.† So far to Cousin Billy.⁴ This Monument is excellently well adorned

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and the whole executed with a masterly taste. The Inscription is very fine and worthy the Hero, whom it is intended to commemorate.

D. O. M. et æternæ memoriæ Gulielimi Nassoviæ supremi Auransionensium Principis Patr. Patr. qui Belgii fortunis suas posthabuit et suorum; validissimos exercitus ære plurimum privato bis conscripsit, bis induxit; Ordinum auspiciis Hispaniæ tyrannidem propulit; veræ religionis cultum, avitas patriæ leges revocavit restituit; ipsam denique libertatem tantum non assertam, Mauritio principi; paternæ virtutis hæredi filio stabiliendam reliquit. Herois vere pii, prudentis invicti, quem PH. II Hisp. R. Europæ timor, timuit non domuit, non terruit; [sed empto percussore fraude nefanda sustulit;] Foederat Belgii provinc. perenni memor. monum. fec.⁵

To the most good and most high God and to the immortal Memory of William of Nassau, soveriegn Prince of Orange, the Father of his Country; who preferred the good of the Netherlands to that of himself and his Family; twice levied, and brought in a strong Army principally at his own Expence; repell'd the Tyranny of Spain, as General for the States; recover'd and reinstated true Religion; and the ancient Laws of his Country; and lastly not only asserted the publick Liberty himself but left it to be firmly establish'd by his Son Prince Maurice the Heir of his great Father's virtues. The United Provinces of the Dutch Netherlands have erected this Monument to perpetuate the Memory of this truly pious wise and invincible Hero, whom Phillip II of Spain, the Terror of Europe, dreaded, but not being able to terrify or conquer, hired an Assassin to murder him treacherously.

The Church in which this Monument stands is a very noble Building its steeple one of the highest of the low countries, and the Chimes unusually harmonies [harmonious].⁶ They play one tune at the first quarter after every hour, two at the Half hour, three at three quarters, and four before the hour strikes.

*Cousin Billy.⁷ The Market place which is a spacious Square, has this lofty Steeple on one Side and opposite to it the town-House. On the two other Sides are Houses of the Citizens. The Town-House is an old-fashion'd Gothick Structure built about two hundred years ago, *but the Walls being new painted and gilt, it looks as fresh as if erected but yesterday. It may be compared to those antique Beauties who besmear themselves over with paints*

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*and washes, to conceal the wrinkles and deformity of old age.*⁸ It is adorned with several Statues; as those of Justice, Prudence, and Mercy; Divinities or virtues which ought to preside in sovereign Courts. Over the Gate are these two Lines

Hæc domus odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, bonos.⁹

In the old Church, which is also a lofty Pile with an high steeple, but inferior, to the new, are the Monuments of the great Van Tromp and Heine two Dutch Admirals kill'd at Sea. Van Tromp is represented reposing on a Cannon, surrounded with Arms and Trophies. That Admiral defeated the Spaniards in two Engagements, and ruined their Power at Sea. In Cromwell's war with the Dutch, Van Tromp fought Blake, and both sent an Account of their Victory to their Principals. In another Engagement the English were obliged to retire into the Thames; but in a third, which lasted three Days, the Dutch were defeated. In 1653, two other cruel Battles happen'd, in the last of which the English were victorious, and Tromp kill'd. Notwithstanding these Defeats, that Admiral was buried with great Pomp, and had the utmost posthumous Honours done him by his grateful Country.

The Dutch are excellent Masters to serve. They value their Servants for their Merit, and strenuous Endeavours to acquit themselves well, rather than for their Success. The former is in the power of man, the latter depends finally on God, who alone is the Giver of Victories. In this Spirit it is that they adorn their vanquish'd Admirals with Crowns of Lawrel, and transmit their faithfull Services and glorious Deaths to Posterity.

Peter Heine the Admiral took the Spanish silver Fleet.

The principal Magazine and Armory of the Province of Holland is kept here. The House which is very large, was built in 1692. There is a terrible Display of Cannon and Mortars regularly pil'd up one above another without Doors. Amongst the rest are two Peices of Ordnance cast at Lubeck in 1669 of which each weighs 8000 pounds.

This city is also famous for its excellent earthen ware in imitation of China. On the Market Days or during the Wake, or Kermis,¹⁰ vast Quantities of that Commodity are exposed to Sale in the streets. It is call'd delft Ware from this City. They are arrived to such perfection in making it that it is hardly inferior to China in Firmness [Fineness]¹¹; but they have not yet been able to make it transparent. It is probable, that they will attempt

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nothing farther that way for want of Encouragement. The Dutch East India Company import such vast quantities of Porcelain from China, and which is sold so cheap, that there is hardly a Family in the Province, tho ever so poor, that is not tolerably well provided with this foreign Commodity, so that their own Manufacture is in no small Measure of Disgrace.

Formerly there was a considerable Settlement of British Merchants and Clothiers here but they removed to Rotterdam as more convenient for Trade.

End of the description of Delft.

We pass'd down by some beautiful Meadows and at about 1 o'clock at The Hague. After dinner Mr. Dumas¹² came here and invited us to supper for to Morrow. He stay'd here some time and then went away.

¹ On this and the three succeeding days, JQA copied into his Diary passages describing the Dutch cities of Delft, The Hague, Leyden, and Haarlem. His source was *A Description of Holland: Or, the Present State of the United Provinces . . .*, London, 1743, which was written by an anonymous English traveler. Three other editions are known, but none is in the Adams libraries.

JQA made judicious deletions of paragraphs or subjects not pertinent to his purposes, one of which was to send accounts of the places he visited to relatives in Massachusetts. See note 7 (below). Most of JQA's copied material will be deleted from this edition, for reasons discussed in the Introduction to this volume. Exceptions, however, have been made with three of the four long passages from *A Description of Holland*, since the description of Delft represents his first effort at copying and contains his internal denotations (discussed below), and the accounts of The Hague and Leyden describe two places where he was later to live. Important changes, inadvertencies, or omissions are identified in the notes. The description of Delft comes from p. 304–311 in the source.

² Omitted by JQA in copying from source (p. 304–305, italics deleted).

³ Phrase in source reads: "is above two Miles in circumference, is longer than it is broad" (p. 305).

⁴ The letter implied here has not been found, but see note 7 (below).

⁵ A number of JQA's Latin spelling errors have been silently corrected from the source, and an inadvertent omission has been supplied (p. 307).

⁶ Thus in source (p. 308).

⁷ The portion of the description beginning here, with several omissions, was re-copied and sent by JQA to William Cranch, 1 April 1781 (MHi:Cranch Family Coll.).

⁸ JQA's italics, here and below.

⁹ In the margin is JQA's translation: "I.e. This house hates wickedness, loves peace, punishes criminals, conserves the laws and honours the good."

¹⁰ "Wake," an annual English parish festival featuring sports, dancing, and other amusements; "Kermis," a fair or carnival in the Low Countries and parts of Germany (OED).

¹¹ Thus in source (p. 311).

¹² Charles William Frederic Dumas, a German-born man of letters and longtime resident of Holland, who served as an American agent and correspondent at The Hague. He quickly became a close friend of JA and actively promoted American interests throughout his life, though he never received a formal diplomatic appointment. For further details on his connection with JA, see *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:9–10.

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TUESDAY 8TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Mr. Dumas came and we went with him about the town. The description is in the same book¹ and I will take it down also.

The Hague is justly esteemed one of the finest Towns in Europe. Those who have either seen, or occasionally wrote of it, seem at a Loss for Words to express thier Admiration. An ingenious Gentleman, Fellow of the Royal Society, speaking of this Place when it was nothing to what it is now, expresses himself thus: "And now let us enter the Hague, the delicatest Borough in the world, as all those who have seen any thing abroad willingly confess: A place, which for the Breadth of the Streets, the Nobleness of its Buildings, the Beauty of its Canals, the pleasant Shade of its Trees, and the Civility of its Inhabitants, may justly claim The Title of the most pleasant seat in the world, and make all Men envy the Happiness of those that live in it."²

This beautiful place lies in the Centre of a great number of fine cities and Villages, with which it has an easy communication by Canals, on the Sides of which a thousand agreeable Objects perpetually rise up, that make the journies on them seem too short. For wherever the Passenger turns his Eyes, he sees either beautiful Country-Houses magnificent Gardens, fine Meadows, or charming villages.

The Hague stands on a dry Soil, somewhat higher than the rest of the Country, But that Elevation is not so considerable as to occasion any sensible Change in the Course of the Waters or Inconvenience to the Passage-Boats, which sail to and from the Hague with equal Facility.

The Inhabitants breath a better Air than those of the other Cities and have more agreeable Scenes without the Town for Health and Recreation. On the South is a large Extent of fine Meadows, and the City of Delft; on the East is the principal canal; on the North a pleasant wood; and on The West the Walk to Scheveling [Scheveningen] and the Sea. And indeed, go which way one will, one always finds delightful Paths, or Walks paved with Bricks, and Shaded with Several Rows of Trees; so that the Neighbourhood of the Hague exhibits, on all Sides of it, whatever can form a fine Landscape.

The Hague may be reckoned the Capital of the Seven Provinces; tho' indeed it is called only a Village, because it is not

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walled, and sends no Deputies to the States. It is however a better Town than many Cities, which enjoy that Priviledge; and for Extent, Number of People, and opulence, may be rank'd amongst the best Cities of Europe of the second-Class. It requires almost two Hours to walk round it; and contains above 5000 Houses, inhabited by 40 or 50,000 Souls.

It is surrounded by a beautiful Canal, over which there are several fine Draw-bridges; but those Bridges are never drawn up, so that one may enter the Hague at all Hours. This Canal is border'd on one Side, and in some places on both by a walk of lofty and shady Trees.

We went to see several Other Things but I will give a detail of them when I come back here as I expect to or if I dont I shall take a nother opportunity. We went also to see the village of Scheveling which is also in the same book but there is nothing remarkable at it and therefore I will not write a description of it. We dined at our Lodgings which is at The Hotel du *Maréchal de Turenne*. Mr. Dumas dined with us. After dinner we went to Delft and saw several of the curiosities which I have already described of that Place. *We also saw a gentleman there who is the Gazeteer of Delft and a great Friend to the Americans.*³ We came back got back at about nine o clock. We supp'd at Mr. Dumas's house and at about eleven o clock we got home to our lodgings.

¹ *A Description of Holland*, p. 1-4, omitting about two and a half paragraphs from p. 3, which follow the paragraph above, beginning: "The Inhabitants breath a better Air."

² Source cited in *A Description of Holland* for this quotation is W[illiam] A[glionby], *Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries*, London, 1669.

³ Wybo Fynje (1750-1809), publisher and editor of the *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, who was also a strong supporter of the Dutch Patriot movement. JQA later subscribed to and read the "Delft Dutch paper" while studying in Leyden in order to learn to read the language (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:116-117).

WEDNESDAY 9TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Mr. Dumas came and went with Pappa to the French Ambassadors¹ lodgings. After they came back at about eleven o clock we dined and at half after twelve we set away from the Hague for Leyden. We pass'd down some very beautiful Meadows. We saw a great Number of very pretty country seats and at half after 3 o clock we arrived at Leyden. We took lodgings *a la Cour D'Hollande*. We went to see Mr. Fine a Gentleman whom Mr. Dumas knows.² We supped there. Before supper Mr.

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Dumas went with us to see several curiosities which being in that same book I will take it down as also a description of this city.³

Leyden is no more than three Hours, or about nine [fifteen]⁴ Miles, from the Hague, and as many from Delft. To each of those Cities eight Boats set out every Day at certain Hours as also to Haerlem, and from thence to Amsterdam, from whence Leyden is only six Hours distant; but crossing the Lake of Haerlem with a fair wind, it is only Three.

Next to the four Capital's which I call Rome, London, Paris, and Amsterdam, Leyden is one of the largest and most beautiful Cities in Europe. It⁵ is fortified, as are all the other Towns in the seven Provinces with a strong Rampart of Earth and a very broad Fossé or Canal, so that it is capable of sustaining a seige. The Citizens are able to lay the whole country about them under water, as was done by advice of the Prince of Orange during the famous Seige which they sustained against the Spanish Army in 1574. They had recourse to the desperate Remedy of cutting the Banks of the Maes [Maas or Meuse] and Issel [Ijssel], by which all the neighbouring country was turn'd into a kind of Sea, and 1500 Spaniards were drowned before they could retire. The besieged were reduced to extraordinary Straits, and forced to make Paper Money, which was afterwards changed into two Peices, of Silver of different Value. They had these Legends upon them, *Hæc libertatis ergo, and Pugno pro patria*; which is as much as to say alluding to the Occasion, These Miseries we suffer for the sake of our Liberty, and in defending our Country. And on the Reverse are these Initials. *N. O. U. L. S. G. I. P. A. C.* that is *Nummus obsessæ urbis Lugdunensis sub gubernatione illustrissimi Principis Auriaci cusus*. In English The Money of the besieged city of Leyden, coined during the Government of the most illustrious Prince of Orange. Whilst great Numbers were dying of Famine a body of the Citizens went to Adrian Vander Werf one of their Magistrates and told him they must either surrender or die of Hunger. Upon which that Magnanimous person said to them, *Freinds here I am, kill me if you please and divide me amongst you: for it is the same thing to me, whether I die by your hands or those of our Enemies*. A year after this terrible seige, the University was founded by the States, to reward the Inhabitants for their courage and sufferings.

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It is call'd Lugdunum Batavorium, to distinguish it from Lyons in France. Hengest Castle or the Berg, said to be built by Hengest the Saxon as a Trophy for his conquest of England is situated in the middle of the city, in an Angle formed by the Channels of the Old and new Rhine, and is planted with Trees. From the Top of it is an Extensive Prospect of the adjacent Country and Villages, the Lake of Haerlem, and the downs, or Sand hills. Some Antiquarians contend, that it was built by the Romans as a garrison for one of their Legions. There is a Well here, out of which, it is said, the Inhabitants took a Fish alive, when the Place was almost famished during the seige that was shewn to the Enemy over the Wall, in order to discourage the beseigers, by making their condition seem better than it was. This Well is now dried up. It is supposed to have been a subterraneous Passage to Catwick on the Sea, which is about four Miles off.

The pleasantest Street in Leyden is the Rapenburg. It has a fine Canal, over which are several handsome bridges of Stone with Iron Rails. Each Side of it is adorned with a Row of Lofty Trees, and the streets (as well as those of all the other Cities of Holland) have a Small Declivity towards the Canal; so that they can never be dirty even after the greatest Rains. The street that leads from the Hague's gate to that of Utrecht, is very long, broad, and, airy, and is the most frequented. The third principal Street is that of Haerlem. It has a Canal call'd the Old Rhine upon which are many fine Bridges, that serve for Market places to the City.

Leyden has given Birth to many eminent Persons; but to none so famous as the Taylor, John of Leyden, King of the Munster Anabaptists. The Disorders occasioned by that crack-brain'd fellow, unluckily happen'd during the Change of Religion, to the no small Prejudice of the Reformation of Germany and the Netherlands. Having seiz'd Munster the Capital of Westphalia, John forc'd the People to treat him as king and wore a Crown of Gold. When he went abroad, this great Monarch had always 2 Harbingers before him, of whom one carried a Sword and the other a Bible. All who did not fall down, and worship him, were immediately sentenced to die, and executed. He caused one of his Concubines to be put to Death for despising his pretended Inspirations. The Bishop of Munster besieged the Place, and John made the poor People suffer as much as Saguntum or Jerusalem suffer'd from Hannibal and Vespasian, assuring them all the

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while of a miraculous deliverance. The Town was taken at last, and the mock King with his two principal Associates, were sent in derision about the Country. He was afterwards put to Death by having his Flesh torn off with red hot pinchers. The Table on which this Taylor used to sit at work, is still kept; but in my opinion, the Citizens might as well throw it into the Fossé, as neither the shop board nor he can be supposed to do them any Honour. The People of Leyden have a much nobler Curiosity to shew; It is the fine Painting done by Luke of Leyden representing the day of Judgement. The Emperor Rodolph [Rudolf] set so high a Value [upon it],⁶ that he offer'd as many Peices of Gold for it, as would cover it. The Hospitals here are numerous, and well taken care of. The Hall for examining and sealing of Cloth, of which 100,000 Peices are said to be made here every Year, is a fine building. The Mall lies without the Hague's Gate along the Canal but is far inferior in beauty to that of Utrecht.

The other remarkable things here are, the University the Library, and the Anatomy hall or theatre, where amongst a thousand other Curiosities mention'd by Writers of Travels, there are some Heathen Reliques or Idols, and two Egyptian Mummies, of which one is that of a King of Egypt, beleived to be 1800 years old. The Wonderful art of Embalming and preserving human Bodies for so many Centuries, is absolutely lost; nor can we have any Insight into it from the nicest Enquiries into these dry Remains. The Physick Garden is another Curiosity. The Inscription on old Clusius's⁷ Tomb like most others upon Monuments, flatters him a little. The Poet in extolling this Professor of Botany, who died in 1619 [1609]⁸ says wittily enough

Non potuit plures hic quærere Clusius herbas
Ergo novas campis quærit Elysus.
Since no more Herbs the Earth to Clusius yeilds
New ones he seeks in the Elysian Feilds.

This is not all but it is all that is worth copying. At about ten o'clock we got home to our lodgings.

¹ Paul François de Quélen de Stuer de Caussade, Duc de La Vauguyon, French ambassador to The Hague, 1776–1784 (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

² Here follows a heavily crossed out marginal addendum which reads, in part:

“[...] afternoon that Gentleman [...] sa?]w at Delft [...]others [h?]is Fa[ther? ...] and his [...] the [...] gaz]eteers of Leyden [and or all] very great freinds to America also.”

³ *A Description of Holland*, p. 323–328,

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with one short paragraph describing St. Peter's church, p. 326, and several sentence fragments deleted.

⁴ Corrected from source (p. 323).

⁵ JQA recopied (with minor deletions) and sent to AA on 8 April 1781 that portion of the description of Leyden beginning at this point, continuing for the next three paragraphs, and ending with the commentary on Rapenburg (or Rapinburg) Street (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:101). The

letter also contained the account of the "Physick Garden" (same, p. 101-102), which appears at the end of this description of Leyden.

⁶ Added from source (p. 327).

⁷ Carolus Clusius, or Charles de l'Escluse, botanist, and professor at the University of Leyden, 1593-1609 (*Nieuw Ned. Biog. Woordenboek*, 9:150-153).

⁸ Corrected from source (p. 328).

THURSDAY 10TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning we got up breakfasted and went down to Go away in the Nine o'clock boat. When we got to the wharf we met Mr. Appleton and an Englishman whose name is Du Shan. They came with us to Amsterdam. We pass'd along not quite so beautiful a Country as we have Generally. At about 1 o'clock we arrived at Haerlem of which I will take a short Description from that same book.¹

I have taken all that is remarkable. At about 4 o'clock we set away from Haerlem and arrived at Amsterdam at about Six o'clock. We walked about 2 Miles and took our lodgings at *l'Hotel des Armes d'Amsterdam*. As we were coming along we met several american Gentlemen and among others Mr. Bradford who went to America with me last summer. Mr. Appleton went and took his lodgings *a la premiere Bible* where those American gentlemen live at present.

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¹ Here follows, on about two and one-half pages in the Diary, JQA's transcription from *A Description of Holland*, p. 354-359, with paragraphs on p. 355 and 356, a

long passage of two and one-half paragraphs, on p. 357-358, and several sentences or sentence fragments throughout, deleted.

FRIDAY THE 11TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning we got up and breakfasted. After breakfast Pappa went to the premiere bible to see those American Gentlemen. While he was gone a French Gentleman whose name is Duneville¹ came to our lodgings but not finding my Pappa he went away but soon after came back again with Commodore Gillon.² They both Gave their address's and went away. At about 12 o'clock Pappa got back with my brother Charles who had been with him. We all three dined at Mr. Duneville's house with Mr.

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Appleton Mr. Bradford and some other Americans. After dinner we went to the Stat house. There are a great number of paintings in there. There are also a Great number of the armours of some Dutch Admirals. We went on the top of the State-House and had a fine Prospect of the sea and the whole city and the ships which are in this Harbour. We came down from the top of the Stat house to the bottom which is 195 steps. Mr. Dunevilles son came home with us. After we had got home Commodore Gillon sent Pappa word not to trouble himself about a lodging for he had found one out and that he would send Pappa the Price of them soon.

I cannot take here a description of this town. It would be too long but I will take it upon some other paper.

¹ Jan (or Jean) de Neufville and son were Dutch bankers, long interested and active in aiding the American cause. In 1778 the elder Neufville had negotiated an unauthorized and abortive treaty with William Lee at Aix-la-Chapelle, the text of which later came into British hands and led to a rift in Anglo-Dutch relations. After JA's arrival Neufville began a drive, which fell below expectations, to raise a loan for the United States (*Diary and Autobiography*, 2:444-445).

chant and shipowner, and commodore of the South Carolina navy, was in Amsterdam procuring a ship (which he renamed the *South Carolina*) and supplies and attempting to negotiate a loan for his state. As JQA's *Diary* indicates, Gillon was helpful to JA as he settled into life in Amsterdam, but JA's opinion of the commodore changed considerably after sending CA back to America on board Gillon's ship a year later (*Diary and Autobiography*, 2:447; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:55).

² Alexander Gillon, a Charleston mer-

SATURDAY 12TH 1780.

This morning a Gentleman whose name is du Bois came here to see Pappa. He stay'd some time and then went away. Pappa went out to dinner but Brother Charles and myself dined at our lodgings. At about 5 o clock Pappa came back with Commodore Gillon and two other Gentlemen and Captn. Joyner. Mr. Holdenpyl who is brother in law to Commodore Gillon went with my brother Charles and I to his lodgings where we drank tea, after tea Mr. Holdenpyl another Gentleman my brother Charles and I went to see a sort of a menagery. We saw a Lioness and a white monkey and several other beasts. After that we went to see the Jews Synagogue, there are 30,000 Family's of Jews in this city. Almost a Quarter of the town are Jews. After this we walked along by the Water Side. We saw a great number of Vessels. After this we came to Commodore Gillon's lodgings where I

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supp'd. After supper I came to our new lodgings¹ which is near those of Commodore Gillon in a Private house.

¹ JA's temporary lodgings at Mme. Henry Schorn's in the "Agterburgwal by de Hoogstraat," in which JA remained until Feb. 1781 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:450-451).

SUNDAY 13TH 1780.

This morning Mr. Deneufville came and My Pappa, Commodore Gillon, Mr. Holdenpyl, Captn. Joyner Mr. Appleton Brother Charles and myself went to Haerlem to a Country Seat belonging to Mr. Deneufville. We went to see some curiosities. We saw a great number of stuff'd birds. We saw also a stuff'd Lion. After this we dined at Mr. Deneufville's seat. After dinner we took a walk to the wood. We walked there till six o'clock and *then* went back to Mr. Deneufville's seat. We stay'd there till about 8 o'clock and then took leave of Mr. Holdenpyl who is going back to Rotterdam where he lives. He is to set away for Rotterdam at ten o'clock. At eight o'clock we set out Mr. Deneufville, Pappa Commodore Gillon, and My Brother Charles in one Carriage, and Captn. Joyner Mr. Appleton and myself in the other. At about 10 o'clock at night we arrived at our lodgings. We wish'd good night to the whole company and then came in.

MONDAY 14TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa went out and at about 10 o'clock [came back?]. At about 1 o'clock Commodore Gillon came and we went with him to dine at a Gentleman's house whose name is Staphouse.¹ Captn. Joyner, Pappa, Commodore Gillon Brother Charles, and myself dined there. After dinner we all went on board Commodore Gillon's ship. Pappa, Mr. Staphouse and Captn. Joyner went on foot but Commodore Gillon Brother Charles and myself went in a Carriage. We went on board the ship which is to be call'd *the South Carolina*. She is a ship of forty guns thirty-two 36 pounders on the main deck and 8 12 pounders on the Quarter deck. I saw Mr. Amiel on board who is first Lieutenant, I saw also Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Mastin, who are midshipmen on board. We stay'd there some time and after that we came back. Captn. Joyner did not return. She is a new ship and this will be her first cruize. She is a very fine Ship indeed. When we had got about as far as the statehouse we took leave of Mr.

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StapHouse and when we got home Commodore Gillon took leave of us. After we got home Commodore Gillon sent Pappa a Letter which came from some Gentlemen on board the Alliance.² She was in Latt 46. D 13.M. Long 36. D 16 M.

¹ Either Jacob or Nicolaas van Staphorst, brothers and partners in a banking firm. After Dutch recognition of American independence, the firm as part of a syndicate of Amsterdam bankers floated a succession of loans negotiated by JA (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:445).

² Letter not found, but presumably from Arthur Lee, who, with his two nephews and other Americans, sailed for Boston from Lorient on the *Alliance* ([Boston] *Continental Journal*, 17 Aug.; *Warren-Adams Letters*, 2:143-144).

TUESDAY 15TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning at about 9 o clock Commodore Gillon came here with two other Gentlemen. At about ten o clock Pappa went out with Commodore Gillon and did not return till 1 o clock. At about two o clock Commodore Gillon came here again and went out to dine but my brother Charles and I did not dine out. At about 4 o clock Pappa got back and drank tea at home. After tea Commodore Gillon came here again and went out with Pappa and stay'd out some time. At about Nine o clock Pappa got home without Commodore Gillon.

WEDNESDAY 16TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa went out and came back again at about eleven o clock. At about two o clock Commodore Gillon came to our lodgings and went out to dinner with Pappa but my brother Charles and myself dined at our lodgings. At about four o clock Pappa came back without Commodore Gillon. Pappa drank tea at our lodgings. After tea Brother Charles and myself went to take a walk and got back at about seven o clock. I Wrote a Letter to Paris.¹ The Post goes from here to there every Monday and thursday at half after 8 o clock in the Evening and arrives there every friday and monday at the same hour.

¹ Not found, but very likely the one referred to by John Thaxter in his letter from Paris on 21 Aug. (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:399).

THURSDAY 17TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa went out with Mr. Deneufvilles son and stay'd some time. At about one o clock Pappa got back. At about 2

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o clock Pappa went out to dinner with Commodore Gillon but brother Charles and myself dined at home. After dinner Brother Charles went to take a walk and got back at about 4 o clock. Pappa Got home at about six o clock.

End of the first Volume of my Journal. J Q Adams. MDCCLXXX.¹

¹ In the margin, to the left of this paragraph, is a note which reads: "Vive the King of france [. . .] mon ami Navarre mon cher ami," a reference to the French king Henry IV (1553–1610). Possibly JQA had attended a performance of a work such as *Henri IV, ou la Bataille d'Ivry*, Paris [1775],

by Jean Paul Egide Martini and Barnabé Farmian Durosoy, in which are the lines: "Vive Henri, mon Roi! a mon Sire! mon bon Maître," followed by the refrain of a song, "Vive Henri" (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

FRIDAY 18TH OF AUGUST 1780.¹

This morning Mr. Deneufville's son came here with his father's carriage and at about ten o clock Pappa, Mr. Deneufville son, brother Charles, and myself went to see the admiralty. We saw all the magazines of cables, ropes compasses, Blocks, sails, Flags, &c. After this we went on board one of the Dutch Men of war of seventy four Guns which was on the camels which are machines made to lift the body of the ship this harbour not being deep enough to come in without. The ship is call'd the *Admiral de Ruyter* who was a famous dutch Admiral. The Ships here are not so long as the French ships are in general. The Officers on board treated us with a great deal of Politeness. The dutch ships as well as every thing else in Holland are exceeding clean. The decks are as clean as any room could be kept. After this we went on board a yatcht which was very fine and elegant indeed. This Yatcht is for the Admiralty whenever they go out on a party of pleasure. After this we went to see a seventy four gun ship which is on the stocks and then we came home again, when we got to our lodgings Mr. Deneufville son left us. We all dined at home. After dinner Pappa went to the *Premiere Bible*² to see some American Gentlemen who live there. Pappa got back at about six oclock.

¹ This entry begins after two blank leaves which separate the first and second parts ("volumes," in JQA's terminology) of this Diary booklet.

² Here JQA has inserted in the margin, "see volume 1st. page 37 of my Journal," a reference to the last sentence in his entry of 10 Aug. (above).

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SATURDAY 19TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa, brother Charles, and myself went to a booksellers shop where we bought a dictionary, a Grammar, and the History of Gilblas in Dutch.¹ We met there Mr. Guile² who brought letters for us Mr. Ingraham³ and another american Gentleman, we came to our lodgings and Mr. Guile gave us some letters. I receive two letters one dated april tenth and the other may eighth⁴ but no news. At about two oclock Commodore Gillon came here and, Pappa Commodore Gillon brother Charles and myself went to dine at an American Gentleman's house who has been here Nine years. After dinner we went to see some horses. We saw seven horses which were of a brown colour with white manes and tails. They are very rare and they ask five thousand Gilders for the seven. We came back and drank tea at Mr. Le Roi⁵ (for that is the name of the Gentleman's) house. After tea we all came home. Commodore Gillon did not come in.

¹ Among JQA's books is Alain René Le Sage, *Het Leven van Gil Blas van Santillane*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1756, with the MS inscription, "J.Q. Adams, Nov. 22: 1780." On 25 Aug. he received from his father William Sewel's *Nieuw Woordenboek Der Nederduytsche en Engelsche Taale*, Amsterdam, n.d., and the companion work by the same author, *A New Dictionary English and Dutch*, Amsterdam, 1691 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*); see also *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:xv. No Dutch grammar as such survives in either JA's or JQA's library.

² Benjamin Guild, who had left for Europe in the late spring "to extend his Connections and make useful Observations," and returned to Massachusetts in Nov. 1781 (Samuel Cooper to JA, 11 May, *Adams Papers*; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:161-166).

³ Probably Duncan Ingraham Jr., a Bostonian and partner in the American mercantile firm of Sigourney, Ingraham & Bromfield, which was established in Amsterdam in early 1781 (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 1:535; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:453-454, 456).

⁴ Neither letter found.

⁵ Herman Le Roy, oldest surviving son of Jacob Le Roy of New York, had strong kinship and mercantile connections in the Netherlands. In the late 1780s he formed a mercantile firm with his brother-in-law, William Bayard, which became one of the largest commercial houses in New York city (Alexander Du Bin, ed., *Le Roy Family and Collateral Lines* . . . , Phila., 1941, p. 5-6. For a discussion of JA's relationship with the Le Roy family, see *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:148.

SUNDAY 20TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Commodore Gillon came here at about nine o clock and We all went to a gentleman's house who lives in the Country. We walk'd out of the City and then we found a coach with four horses waiting for us which Commodore Gillon had hired for us. At about a quarter after eleven o clock we arrived there. We went to walk with that Gentleman Whose name is

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Hooft¹ and who is a Burger master of the city of Amsterdam, we walk'd some time and then came back and dined. After dinner we went to see a Gentleman whose name is Crommelin,² he came from New York fifty Six years ago. We stay'd there some time and walk'd in his Garden and then came back to the Burger Masters and drank tea there. After tea we set away from there, and arrived at home at about half after eight o clock.

¹ Henrik Hooft, Danielszoon, Amsterdam merchant and banker, regarded by JA as "the most respectable friend of America in that city" (Johan E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795* . . . , 2 vols., Haarlem, 1903-1905, 2:726; JA, *Corr. in the Boston Patriot*, p. 345-346).

² Daniël Crommelin, of the Amsterdam

mercantile house Crommelin & Zonnen, who supported American independence and with whom, as the elder Adams' Diary records, JA had early and frequent contact (Eliza Fenno Richards, "The Crommelin Family in Europe and America," *N.Y. Geneal. and Biog. Rec.*, 24:67-70 [April 1893]).

MONDAY 21ST OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Commodore Gillon came here and went out with Pappa to take a Walk and did not come back till about half after eleven o clock: at about two o clock Pappa went out to dinner but Brother Charles and I dined at home. At about five o clock a man came to be a Dutch Master for Brother Charles and I, he is to give us his first Lesson to morrow morning at six o clock. At about 6 o clock Pappa went to the play with Commodore Gillon and got back at about ten o clock P.M.

TUESDAY 22D OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa went out to take a walk and did not come back till about three quarters after eleven. At about half after twelve Mr. Guile came here. Pappa dined at home and Mr. Guile dined here. Very bad weather all the fore part of the day but in the afternoon it clear'd up. The weather is very uncertain here. There was one man kill'd and another stunn'd to day by a clap of thunder in the morning at about nine o clock just out of the gates of this city.

WEDNESDAY 23D OF AUGUST 1780.

Pappa went out in the morning and came home and dined at home. Our Master comes every morning at six and every noon. Nothing very remarkable this day.

Reading a Volume entitled the World I found this fable.¹

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¹ A fable about wisdom and folly, copied on the following half-page of the Diary, appeared in *The World* No. 120, 17 April 1755. The edition that JQA used is not known.

THURSDAY 24TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This day at about half after twelve PM. Commodore Gillon came here and went into the country with Pappa, but Brother Charles and I did not go. At about half after five Pappa came back and stay'd about an hour when Commodore Gillon came again and Pappa went out to spend the evening some where with Commodore Gillon but I do not know where. At about half after ten o clock Pappa got home again.

Reading the World I found another fable which I will transcribe also.¹

¹ A fable about labor, health, and contentment, which follows on the next two and one-half pages of the Diary, appeared in *The World* No. 143, 25 Sept. 1755.

FRIDAY 25TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning at about half after ten o clock Mr. Leroi came to our lodgings and then went with Pappa brother Charles and myself to see the medicinal garden, we saw there several american Plants. After having seen this we walk'd out of town upon the dyke and got home at about two o clock. Pappa dined out but brother Charles and myself dined at home. At about half after four o clock Pappa got home and at about five we went to Mr. Leroi's where we drank tea, after tea Mr. Le Roi and two other Gentlemen went with us to see the Jews Synagogue and hear them sing. When we first got there it was not begun and therefore we went to another Synagogue Which does not sing tonight. When we got back it was almost time for them to begin. An old man with a long beard read a chapter of the bible in hebrew after which three of them sung. They seem'd to me to be songs as I beleive they were and not psalms. There was a vast congregation. The women have a place up above but no woman can go to church without being married but the men can.

They say there are an hundred Thousand Jews in this town, I am sure they are all wretched creatures for I think I never saw in my life such a set of miserable looking people, and they would steal your eyes out of your head if they possibly could. At about eight o clock we got back. Brother Charles and I went to the Post office for Letters but found but one which was for Stephens.

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SATURDAY THE 26TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning at about eight o'clock Mr. Le Roi came here and went with Pappa, brother Charles and myself to buy some books. We went through the Exchange into a street call'd Kalve Straat. We went to 2 booksellers shops and Pappa bought a Latin Grammar and some Greek testaments.¹ After this we went along another road back again, coming we came through the Exchange. At about twelve o'clock we got back to our lodgings. Mr. Le Roi left us. In the afternoon brother Charles and I went to take a walk.

¹ These works cannot be positively identified.

SUNDAY AUGUST 27TH 1780.

This morning at about half after seven o'clock Mr. Le Roi came to our lodgings and at about eight o'clock he went with My Pappa, brother Charles, Stevens, and myself down to a boat where we found two Gentlemen and two ladies. We set away and went out of the port on board the¹ South Carolina for Captn. Joyner we did not go on board. We then went to *Surdam* [Zaandam?] which is a Village in North Holland. We took a walk there and we went into the church where there is the picture of something which happen'd here some Years ago, A Wild Bull having got loose he run to a Woman took her upon his horns and threw her at an immense Height, while she was up in the air she was delivered of a Child which fell down and was kill'd. The bull then run and kill'd a Man and when the Woman fell she was kill'd also, this picture is represented in the Church. After having walk'd a mile or two we came back to the boat and set sail. We pass'd by Amsterdam again and went down to another place the name of which I don't know. We went and took a walk and then came back and dined on board the boat. After dinner Mr. Le Roi a nother Gentleman Stephens, my brother Charles and myself went to see if we could not find a place to go into water. We walked some ways and at last found a good place to go into. We went in and found the Water very deep. We swam a little while and then came back on board the boat and we then set sail and went again on board the South Carolina where we drank tea and stay'd some time, after tea we set away from on board the ship and sail'd to Amsterdam. The Gentlemen and ladies came with us as far as our lodgings and then left us.

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¹ At this point JQA makes the marginal note, "see Volume 1st of my Journal Page 43d.," which refers to his entry of 14 Aug. (above), describing his first visit on board

the *South Carolina*. As Joyner was captain of the *South Carolina*, the meaning of the remainder of this sentence remains obscure.

MONDAY AUGUST 28TH 1780.

This morning Pappa went out to take a walk and did not get back till about half after one o'clock. At about two o'clock Pappa went out to dine at Mr. Staphorst where I dined Some Time ago.¹ At about half after four o'clock Mr. McCrery² came here with another Gentleman to see Pappa but not finding him they went away again. At about Six o'clock Pappa got back to our lodgings. I received three Letters from Paris from my Schoolmates³ which Mr. McCrery brought with him.

¹ JQA's marginal note here, "Vide Volume 1st page 42 of my Journal," refers to his entry of 14 Aug. (above).

chant at Bordeaux (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:294, 450).

³ Letters not found.

² William McCreery, an American mer-

TUESDAY AUGUST 29TH 1780.

This morning Mr. Le Roi came here and also Mr. Guild. Mr. Guild dined here and drank tea here. At about tea time Mr. LeRoi came here. He has recieved a letter from Bruxelles in which there is some good news and an Extract of which I will now take.

Extract of a Letter from Bruxelles August 27th. 1780.

The English Post due three days ago is not yet arrived but by a private Conveyance we learn that the English Admiralty have received certain advice that their fleet bound to the West Indias consisting of fifty four Sail with a regiment of Soldiers on board convoy'd by a Ship of the line and a frigate and accompanied by five East India Ships had, on the 8th Instant in Lat. 36:40 and Long 15 West fallen into the combined French and spanish fleet from Cadiz, and that almost the whole convoy was taken.¹

After tea Pappa went out with Mr. Le Roi and Mr. Guile and got back at about 8 o'clock.

¹ For a more detailed account of the losses suffered by the British convoy, see *The Annual Register . . . for the Year 1781*, London, 1782, p. 2-3; and *DNB*, under John Moutray.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

WEDNESDAY 30TH OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning Pappa went out and came back again with Mr. Le Roi. Pappa dined out. Charles and I dined at Mr. Le Roi's. After dinner Mr. Le Roi went with us and some other Gentlemen to see if we could find any Carriage to go into water (as there is no place within 6 Miles) but we could find none and so went back to Mr. Le Roi's where we drank tea and Supp'd. After Supper Mr. Le Roi went with us to a School and left us here. How long we shall stay here I can not tell.¹

¹ JQA wrote this entry from the famous Latin School on the Singel, Amsterdam's innermost canal, which he and his brother were to attend until 10 Nov., when JA, angered by what he deemed the preceptor's injustice, had them removed (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:425; 4:11-12).

THURSDAY 31ST OF AUGUST 1780.

This morning we got up and I asked the names of all the scholars who board here. They are as follows.

Roghe, Toelaer, Vander Burgs, Hulft, Slingelandt, Brants, Van Lennep, Koene, de Graft, Genets, Petri, Van der Paul, Clifford.¹

I will also take down some of the rules of the school. First. In the morning at about six o'clock a Servant comes to your chamber (as everyone has his own) and wakes you up. You dress yourself and go into the yard where *<you>* they amuse themselves till about half after seven and then they go to breakfast which is generally tea or coffy without sugar and a piece of bread and butter, each Scholar has two dishes of tea. They are generally about half an hour at breakfast which brings it to eight o'clock. Then they go in to school and stay till eleven and a half when they come out and amuse themselves till one, at one they dine which is upon sometimes one thing some times another. After dinner they amuse themselves till about two when they go in and stay till four and a half. Then they come out for the whole day. At about 9 o'clock they sup which is in general what is cold that was not eat at dinner. Generally after supper one of the Scholars reads two or three chapters in the bible. Every one of the young Gentlemen speak french and it is a general Custom for the Gentlemen to have their sons speak french. There comes here every day an hundred boys to learn latin. This place was formerly a charity house of a Convent of Religious women. I have a book call'd le

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Guide D'Amsterdam in which this School is spoke of. It is in french but I will translate it as well as I can into English.

LATIN SCHOOL.²

The city having obtained of William 4th Count of Holland in 1342 the Priviledge to establish some Schools, for the instruction of the youth in the Greek and latin tongues: they erected two, one in the convent of the Religious women of the order of Bethani, in the Koestraat, the year 1594. It Stood till the year 1670 when it was left and there was a famous tavern made of it which was call'd groot School. The second School was near the New Church, in the place where the famous John Blaauw had since that Established his printing house which was consumed by fire in 1672.

The Latin School is at present upon the Singel, betwixt the Street call'd Heiligen-weg and the Money tour [tower]. It is a very fine house, it was formerly a charity house, built in the middle of the convent of Religious women of the order of Ste. Claire. There is a large-gate by which you may go in to the yard and on it are these words:

DISCIPLINA VITAE SCIPIO

and under

Arte probus, probitate pius, pietate beatus,

Ut vere fias, haec Schola culta dabit.

which is

by frequenting this School one may learn to be upright by art, pious by sincerity and happy by Piety.

The school is divided into six classes, which have each of them their regent. The one of the first Class is the Rector of the whole college and the one of the second is the con-rector. This School is under the inspection of five persons chosen by the Magistrate; of which three are call'd Scholarques and the other two visitors who are ordinarily a Professor of the Illustrious School and a minister. These five inspectors examine the Scholars every Six months and distribute the prices [prizes] to those who have done the best. Those who after having finish'd their classes wish to be admitted into the Illustrious School are obliged to pronounce a publick Harangue in the Choir of the New church.

ILLUSTRIOUS SCHOOL.

This School was establish'd in 1631 for the commodity³ of the Inhabitants of this city and that the children might have means

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after having finished their Classes to follow their Studies without being obliged to go to any of the universities. The church of the convent of St. Agnes was chosen for that purpose and several of the most distinguished persons for their knowledge in all sorts of Sciences were chosen to be the professors of it, and amongst others Gerard Vossius and Caspar Barlæus so famous for their works. This last signalized his entry by a very fine speech which he published under the title of the wise merchant; in which he shew the strait union which subsists between the Sciences and Trade.⁴ There are professors in all sorts of faculties who give regularly publick Lessons at certain days of the week. And for the commodity of those who do not understand the Latin there is a Lector, or Preceptor of Mathematicks, who ever since the year 1709 has given Lessons,⁵ but whether it is because there were but few auditors or for other reasons, it is not done regularly at present.

There is a very handsome Library there, which is open every wednesday and Saturday, from two till half after five o clock of which one of the Professors takes care in quality of Library Keeper. The Small books are shut up and the great ones tied to brass chains. New books are placed there every year. This School is on the East Side of the Oudezyds Voorburgwal.

Thus I have Translated it as well as I can. At about 10 o clock our things were brought here by Stevens. Pappa and Mr. Le Roi came to see us.

The Holidays are on wednesdays in the afternoon and saturdays in the afternoon. There is eleven weeks Vacancies⁶ every year.

¹ JQA's markings over the students' names, presumably to aid pronunciation, have been deleted.

² *Le Guide, ou nouvelle description d'Amsterdam, Nouvelle édition, augmentée*, Amsterdam, 1772, p. 220–222; the book is in JA's library at MB.

³ That is, benefit or advantage (OED).

⁴ The passage in the source refers to the limited connection between literature and business.

⁵ Followed in the source by: "in the vernacular, Thursdays and Fridays" (p. 222).

⁶ That is, vacation.

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER THE 1ST 1780.

To day Pappa came here and brought me a letter from Mr. Thaxter.¹ Pappa Says that the news of the English East and west India fleet is confirmed.

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As I shall have but very few things to put down I shall keep a Journal only the days when there will be something Extraordinary.

¹ Probably that of 21 Aug. (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:399–400).

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER THE 2D 1780.

Half holiday. After School went to Pappa's house. We dined there. After dinner we went to buy the spectators.¹ At about six o'clock Mr. Guile came to Pappa's and stay'd there a little while. They say that an American Frigate has fell in with sixteen sail of merchant vessels and had taken twelve of them.² At about 8 o'clock Mr. Guile went away. Brother Charles and I are to lodge here this night and we shall not go to school till monday next.

¹ See entry for 4 Sept., note 2 (below).

² On 12 July an American frigate and two privateer brigs captured fourteen vessels of the Quebec Fleet off the banks of

Newfoundland (W.S.C. [i.e. Thomas Digges] to JA, 29 Aug. 1780, Adams Papers; *The Annual Register . . . For the Year 1781*, London, 1782, p. 3).

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER THE 3D 1780.

This morning young Mr.¹ Brants came and stay'd here. At about nine o'clock Mr. Deneufville came here, and a little after that Mr. Guile Mr. Ingraham and Captn. Joyner came and we all set out for Mr. Deneufville's country seat. Mr. Guile, Mr. Ingraham, Pappa, and Captn. Joyner, went in one Coach, and Mr. Deneufville another Gentlemen, young Mr. Brants brother Charles and Myself in the other. At about twelve o'clock we arrived at Mr. Deneufville's country seat which is at Harlem. We went to take a Walk before dinner. We dined at about three o'clock. At about Six o'clock we set away from Harlem after the same manner as we *<came>* went. We arrived at Amsterdam at about 8 o'clock and then Mr. Deneufville and Captn. Joyner left us and young Mr. Brants but Mr. Ingraham and Mr. Guile came in and drank a dish of tea and then they left us. At about ten o'clock we went to bed.

¹ JQA's marginal note here, "see page 20 of this volume of my Journal," refers to his entry of 31 Aug. (above), where Brants is listed among the students who board at the school with JQA.

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MONDAY SEPTEMBER 4TH 1780.

This morning got up at about 7 o'clock dressed and breakfasted. After breakfast Pappa wrote a line to the rector¹ desiring him to let MY brother Charles and I come to his lodgings every wednesday and Saturday.

Reading a volume of the *Spectator* I found something in it which is worth copying and therefore I will do it.²

There is another which I will take down also.³

¹ Not found.

² Here follows a quotation of twelve four-line stanzas of a poem in *The Spectator*, otherwise unidentified by JQA, beginning "When all thy Mercies o my God." No edition of *The Spectator* exists in either JA's or JQA's library, though a later citation by JQA to a piece he copied from it indicates that he was using the less common nine-volume edition. Notes regarding JQA's copied passages from *The Spectator* are based on the five-volume Oxford edition of 1965, edited by Donald F. Bond.

The poem, published in *The Spectator*

No. 453, 9 Aug. 1712 (ed. Bond, 4:96-98), contains thirteen stanzas, the sixth of which was left out by JQA, probably inadvertently, and the rest were numbered out of order by him in the Diary. Like nearly all of his transcriptions, this one has many discrepancies in capitalization and punctuation; in other respects it is faithful. There seems to be no pattern to JQA's choices of poems to copy.

³ Joseph Addison's "translation" of the Twenty-third Psalm, which appeared in *The Spectator* No. 441, 26 July 1712 (ed. Bond, 4:51).

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER THE 5TH 1780.

As I have nothing else to write for to day I will translate from the *Guide D'Amsterdam* something about the Medical Garden.¹

This is all which is said in the book of that garden.

This evening Stevens came here and brought me two letters from Paris one from Cockran and the other from Deane² two of my Schoolmates at Paris.

¹ JQA's marginal note here, "vide Page 11 of this volume of my Journal," refers to his entry of 25 Aug. (above), where he describes his visit to the Medicinal Garden.

This paragraph is followed by JQA's English translation of *Le Guide, ou nouvelle description d'Amsterdam*, p. 224-226, though JQA's description of the Medicinal

Garden differs somewhat from the source. There are mistranslations and omissions, and some paraphrasing and alterations, a number probably arising from changes in the Garden since the publication of *Le Guide* in 1772.

² Letters not found.

WEDNESDAY 6TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Half Holiday. At about ten o'clock Mr. Le Roi came here and invited us to go and dine with him. We told him we would. At about half after twelve I went to Pappa's lodgings but found he

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was gone out, and then I went to Mr. Le Roi's, he was gone out and got home soon after. We dined at his house. After dinner we went with him to take a long walk out of the city and we drank tea there, after tea we came back again to Mr. Le Roi's where we supp'd. We came back to our School. Mr. Chabanel¹ came with us as far as the door and then left us, we found the boys Just going to bed. The rule is to be home the holidays at half after ten. Brother Charles and Myself Study in a little chamber apart because we dont understand the Dutch.

¹ Herman Le Roy's cousin (entry of 11 Sept., below).

THURSDAY 7TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Holiday for the first Class, but not for the rest of the School. Reading a Volume of the Spectator I found this.¹ Nothing very remarkable to day.

¹ Here follow, on about two pages in the Diary, 31 lines cited by JQA as coming from "Spectator Vol 9th. page 270-271," which appeared in *The Spectator* No. 628, 3 Dec. 1714 (ed. Bond, 5:147-148). The piece is the entire first scene of Act V of Addison's play *Cato*.

FRIDAY 8TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Nothing very remarkable to day. Reading another Volume of the Spectator I found this which I shall take down.¹

¹ Here follow, on about four pages in the Diary, an allegory beginning, "There were two Families," which JQA cites as coming from "Spectator Vol 3d. Page 62-63-64." This appeared in *The Spectator* No. 183, 29 Sept. 1711 (ed. Bond, 2:222-223).

SATURDAY 9TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Half Holiday. At about twelve o clock Stevens came here for us, as we were going we met our Dutch Master who was coming to give us a Lesson. When we got home we found Mr. Guile at our house with Pappa. At about 1 o clock Mr. Guile went away. At about half after one Commodore Gillon came to Pappa's lodgings stay'd some time and went away. At about four o clock young Mr. Crommelin came with a coach for us to go to his father's house in the country, we went away and arrived there at about 7 o clock. We shall stay here till to morrow night.

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End of the second Volume of My Journal.

J.Q. Adams
MDCCLXXX

hzo er fryjei of vaf jhfirnofj

hzo vijzear er frjjei of vaf jhfirnofj rokof ha pero ih zado.¹

a b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u v, w, x, y, z.
u, p, h, z o m, b, w e, r, c, x q d, a g, n, f k, v, i, j, y, l, s, t.

¹ These two lines and the alphabet cipher which follows, appear undated, facing each other on two different and otherwise unused leaves, separating JQA's second and third "volumes" of his journal in D/JQA/3. For related material, see the titlepage and note for D/JQA/3 (above).

The inscription, above, contains two lines in code, the latter being an elaboration of the first. Through the help of Ralph E. Weber of Marquette University, and Brian J. Winkel of Albion College, Albion, Michigan, the message has been deciphered as follows:

hzovijzear er frjjei of vaf jhfirnofj rokof
the fashion in russia is for strangers never
ha pero ih zado.
to dine at home.

There is an error in the cipher for the plain text *is*, which should be enciphered "ej." Some similarities exist between the transposition cipher JQA began to construct on the titlepage and the encoded message above, for the letters e, i, o, and r remain enciphered the same. The code ap-

pears to be much simpler than typical codes used during the American Revolutionary era, which generally employed letter *and* number substitutions, but Prof. Weber has found ciphers similar to this being used by John Jay and Robert Livingston in 1780 (Edmund C. Burnett, "Ciphers of the Revolutionary Period," *American Historical Review*, 22:329-334 [Jan. 1917]; Weber, *United States Diplomatic Codes and Ciphers, 1775-1938*, Chicago, 1979, p. 37-38). It seems likely that JQA was attempting to create a cipher, possibly inspired after his meeting on 7 Aug. with C. W. F. Dumas, the close associate of JA, who devised Revolutionary codes built upon more sophisticated methods (Burnett, "Ciphers," p. 330-331). JQA's enciphered message apparently antedates all others in the Adams Papers, the next earliest of which appears in a letter from James Lovell to JA the following December. JQA's work on a cipher suggests that codes were a focal point of conversation among the Adamses for some time ("The Lovell Cipher and Its Derivatives," *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:393-399).

SUNDAY 10TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

This morning we got up at about 8 o'clock and at about half after 9 Mr. Crommelin, and his son, Pappa, brother Charles, and Myself went to take a ride. We went about 15 Miles and got back at about half after twelve o'clock. We dined at Mr. Crommelin's at about three o'clock. At about six o'clock Pappa, young Mr. Crommelin his wife brother Charles, and Myself set away from Mr. Crommelin's for Amsterdam, we rode along on the dyke and got to Amsterdam at about 8 o'clock. The coach deliver'd us at our door and then Young Mr. Crommelin and his wife left us. We shall lodge at Pappa's house this night.

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MONDAY SEPTEMBER THE 11TH 1780

Half Holiday for the school. This morning at about 9 o'clock we left Pappa and went to school.¹ We stay'd there till about half after twelve o'clock when we went again to Pappa's. We dined there. After dinner we went to Mr. Le Roi's but he was not at home. We stay'd there some time. Mr. Le Roi came home at about half after four. At about five o'clock Mr. Le Roi, brother Charles and myself went to take a walk. We got back to Mr. Le Roi's at about Six o'clock. We met Mr. Amiel and Capt'n. Spencer who drank tea with us at Mr. Le Roi's. After tea they went away. Brother Charles and myself stay'd to supper. After Supper Mr. Le Roi and his Cousin Mr. Chabanel came back to the school with us as far as the door and then they left us.

¹ JQA's marginal note here, "vide page 20 of the second volume of my Journal," refers to his entries of 30–31 Aug. (above), concerning school.

TUESDAY THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Received *<two lett>* *<one>* a Letter from Mr. Thaxter.¹ Nothing remarkable this day.

Reading a Volume of the Spectator I found something which I will copy.²

¹ Undoubtedly that of 4 Sept., on which date Thaxter also wrote to JA (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:411–413).

² Here follows, on three and one-half pages in the Diary, Alexander Pope's

poem, "Messiah, A sacred Eclogue . . . in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio," from "Spec. vol 5, Number 378," where the poem was published for the first time on 14 May 1712 (ed. Bond, 3:419–422).

WEDNESDAY THE 13TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Half Holiday. To day at about twelve o'clock we went to Pappa's lodgings and went from thence with him to Mr. Le Roi's where we dined. After dinner Mr. Le Roi Pappa, Several other Gentlemen, and brother Charles and myself went to the (*Rasp huis*) or house of correction. There is there a man who is so strong that fifteen men could not take him and he broke some Iron which was put round his arms. We saw several others some who got there for one thing some for another; They are Judged once and a while and when there is a criminal the Judge [will sentence him] for so many years according to his crime and they are examined after this once every year, and wherever they are found to have behaved well the past year the Judges shorten

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their time sometimes for a year sometimes 2, 3 or four but that is the most. It is a miserable hole to be sure. They are obliged to saw so much wood every day and when they go in they are branded on the back. There are but 56 here which I think must be but few for such a city as this. After this we went back to Mr. Le Roi's and drank tea. After tea Pappa left us and brother Charles and myself stay'd and supp'd at Mr. Le Roi's after which we came back to school.

THURSDAY THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Rain'd in the afternoon but clear'd up at night.

Reading a Volume of the Spectator I found a dream of his which I will copy.¹

¹ Here follows, on eight pages of the Diary, "Spectator Vol 2d. No. 83," published on 5 June 1711, but omitted are the first two paragraphs of the piece (ed. Bond, 1:354-356).

FRIDAY THE 15TH OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Nothing Remarkable to day.

Reading a Volume of the Tatler I found something which I will copy.¹

¹ On the following six and one-half pages in his Diary JQA set down an allegory, with several omissions, about Hercules' being courted by virtue and pleasure, from *The Tatler* No. 97, originally published on 22 Nov. 1709, which he later cites as "Tatler. Vol. 2d. Page, 82, 83, 84,

and 85." If, as it seems reasonable to assume, JQA was using the four-volume 1728 edition of *The Tatler*, which his father gave to him and CA presumably on the following day (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*), the citation was miscopied, as it appears there at 2:282-285.

SATURDAY THE 15TH [16TH] OF SEPTEMBER 1780.

Half Holiday. Today about 10 o'clock brother Charles and I came to Pappa's lodgings where we dined. After dinner Mr. Guild and Mr. Ingraham came here and went with us to see the Hortus Medicus¹ of which I have spoken already. We walked about a little while and then we came home again, as we were coming we went into a Church and looked about it a little. When we got to Pappa's door Mr. Guild and Mr. Ingraham left us. At about 8 o'clock Commodore Gillon came to Pappa's lodgings and stay'd some time. At about half after nine o'clock Pappa received a Letter from Mr. Dana² who has just arrived in Town. Pappa went to see Mr. Dana who Lodges at the first Bible.

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¹ JQA's marginal note here, "Vide Volume 2d. Page 11, and 36, 37, 38, 39," refers to JQA's Diary entries of 25 Aug. and 5 Sept. (both above).

² That of [16 Sept. 1780], Adams Papers.

SUNDAY THE 17TH.

This morning My brother Charles and myself went to the first bible to see Mr. Dana and Mr. Austin. We stay'd there a little while and then came back to Pappa's lodgings. A little after we got there Mr. Guile and Mr. Ingraham came here for us to go to church with them but Pappa could not go. Brother Charles and I went. After service Mr. Guile and Mr. Ingraham left us and we came back to Pappa's. Mr. Dana dined here with us. After dinner I went to take a Walk with Dana and then went back to the first bible. We stay'd there a little while and Mr. Austin got back. We then went and took a walk about the town and walked a great ways and at about 7 o'clock I left Mr. Dana and Mr. Austin and came back to Pappa's lodgings.

MONDAY THE 18TH.

Went back to the school. Nothing remarkable to day.

Reading in a Volume of the guardian I found something in it which I will copy.¹

¹ Here follows, on two pages of his Diary, Philip Sidney's translation of Psalm 137, five eight-line stanzas, which appeared in No. 18, not No. 19 as JQA cites it, of *The Guardian*, 1 April 1713. In JQA's edition of the work, London, 1745, at MQA, it is found at 1:84-85.

TUESDAY THE 19TH.

I received a letter from one of my schoolmates at Paris.¹

Rain'd hard most all day.

Reading in a Volume of the guardian I found something which I will copy.²

¹ Letter not found.

² Here follows, on two pages in the Diary, Pope's 46-line "Prologue to Addison's Tragedy of *Cato*," from No. 33, 18 April 1713. This appears in JQA's edition of *The Guardian* at 1:142-143.

WEDNESDAY THE 20TH.

This day I went to Pappa's to day. Got back to the school at eight oclock P.M. Nothing remarkable.

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Reading a Volume of the *Tatler* I found something worth copying.¹

¹ Here follows, on seven and one-half pages of the Diary, the latter part of *The Tatler* No. 146, originally published on 16 March 1710 (London, 1728, 3:148–152, at MQA). The portion JQA copied, the

dream about Jupiter and the Destinies, begins with the third paragraph and continues to the conclusion of the number (same, p. 150–152).

THURSDAY THE 21ST.

Holiday for the school. At about half after twelve brother Charles and myself went to Pappa's lodgings where we dined. After dinner we went to Mr. Le Roi's and from there to Mr. Hartswick's¹ house where we stay'd about an hour and then returned to Mr. Le Roi's where we stay'd till supper, and after supper Mr. Le Roi went with us to the school door and then left us. We got home at about ten o'clock. The address of our school is.

den de Latijnsche School op de Cingel by de munt.

¹ Or Hartsinck: JQA's marginal notation reads, "he is brother in law to Mr. Chabanel."

FRIDAY THE 22D.

Vacancies for three weeks begins this day. To day I went with all the scholars to see the promotion and the præmiums given. It was in the old Church. There were present two burgermasters the inspector of the school the rector the Conrector, the Præceptors and the professors, and all the scholars. In the first place three scholars spoke Orations one after the other and then the rector named those who were to receive the præmiums and they Went and received them from the Hand of one of the Burger master's. The præmiums of the first and Second Classes were folio Volumes magnificently bound, those of the 3d and 4th's Quarto Volumes and the fifth and sixth Octavo Volumes. After that the præmiums were given it was finish'd, and brother Charles and myself went to Pappa's where we dined. At about half after eight o'clock P.M. we got back: to the school where we shall lodge all the vacancy.

SATURDAY 23D.

Went to Pappa's house, stay'd there till about half after eight O'clock and then we went back to the school.

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SUNDAY 24TH.

This morning I went to Pappa's to go to meeting with him. We Went first to Mr. Dana's but he could not go with us and we went and heard a Sermon. The text was.

Then he which had received the one talent came, and Said Lord, I Knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed. Matthew. c. 25 v. 24th.

After Church we came home and at about two o clock Commodore Gillon came here and went out to dinner with Pappa. We got back to school at about 10 o clock.

MONDAY THE 25TH.

Dined at Pappa's with several American Gentlemen. Supp'd at Mr. Le Roi's. Got back to School at about ten o clock.

TUESDAY THE 26TH.

Dined and supp'd at Mr. Le Roi's. Went to see the fair. Got back to School at about ten oclock.

WEDNESDAY THE 27TH.

Dined at Pappa's house. Went to see the fair. Got back to School at about 9 o clock.

THURSDAY THE 28TH.

Dined at Pappa's house. Got back to school at about half after eight o clock.

FRIDAY THE 29TH.

Rain'd hard all day. Dined at Mr. Le Roi's with Pappa, Commodore Gillon Captain Joyner, Mr. Coltyzer, Mr. Dana, And My brother Charles. After dinner all the gentlemen went away but My brother Charles and myself stay'd and supp'd there. After supper Mr. Le Roi went with us to the school. We got back to the school at about half Past ten o clock.

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SATURDAY THE 30TH.

Dined at Pappa's. Got back to school at about half after eight o'clock. Nothing Remarkable to day.

End of My Journal.

SATURDAY JUNE THE 9TH 1781.¹

Got up in the morning at about 6 o'clock, and set myself to work; breakfasted at half past seven on tea. At about 1 o'clock Pappa came from the Hague; and ask'd me if I wou'd go to Amsterdam with him; I told him I would, with all my heart. He then told me, that I must put up some clothes and get ready before dinner, and come to dine with him at the Sign of the Golden Lion, all which I did. After dinner the horses were put into the carriage and we set away at about three o'clock. We went along down the broad Street and went down a small lane and out of the Haerlem-Poort; and down along by the Canal. We rode about 3 hours and arrived at about 6 o'clock at a house near Haerlem; we drank tea, and had our horses refresh'd at this house; and set away from it at about seven o'clock; we pass'd thro' *Haerlem*, a small city where the Dutch say that the art of printing was invented by Laurence Janzoon Koster [or Coster,] Sexton of the Church; I have seen the first book which (they say) he printed; but there is a great dispute with this city and that of Stratsburg [Strasbourg] about this; these last say that one John Guttemberg invented it, and that Koster had only printed upon wood, as the Chinese had done for a long time before. The people of Haerlem say that Koster did print upon wood at first but that he tried it afterwards upon lead and finding he did it successfully he made it public; and that John Guttemberg was an apprentice of Koster's; and that he stole his masters tools and ran away to Stratsburg and there sat himself up as the inventor of printing.

I do not pretend to ascertain which of the two was the true inventor of it; for I believe that it would be a hard matter to prove.

We passed along by the side of a Canal the whole way from Haerlem to Amsterdam. Arrived here at about 8 1/2 o'clock. Went into the Haerlem Port and after several twistings and turnings we arriv'd at Pappa's house, which is upon the Keizers Gragt;² in English the Emperors Canal. We found Mr. Dana here; brother Charles was gone out, but came home soon after. I shall copy in general every day some piece of Poetry or prose;

and shall begin with that fine Soliloque of Hamlet, from Shakespeare.³

¹ This is the first entry in D/JQA/4, which covers the brief period from 9 June to 27 Aug. 1781, consisting of JQA's remaining days in Holland and his journey with Francis Dana to St. Petersburg. This unbound Diary, with pages measuring $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$, is composed of eleven twelve- or sixteen-leaved sections, consecutively numbered by JQA to page 162, with the last ten leaves left blank. A number of the leaves are missing and have been noted later at the appropriate places in the Diary.

Much of what is known about JQA's activities between Oct. 1780 and June 1781, for which no Diary exists and none was probably written, comes from letters, especially to and from JA, all of which are printed in volume 4 of *Adams Family Correspondence*. After the unsettling school experience of his sons in Amsterdam, JA wrote to Benjamin Waterhouse for some advice on how the boys might pursue their studies at Leyden. Waterhouse, later to become the first professor of physic at Harvard, had pursued medical studies at Edinburgh, London, and Leyden, taking his degree at the last-named in 1780 and afterward attending additional lectures there. He recommended Leyden to JA enthusiastically. Not only could JA's sons live more cheaply there than in Amsterdam, Waterhouse wrote, but also they could advance their knowledge of Greek and Latin through private instruction, and they might attend lectures at the university. Within a week after the receipt of Waterhouse's letter, JA sent the boys there with John Thaxter. While Waterhouse found accommodations, Thaxter hired a Latin and Greek master named Wensing (or Wenshing), who came twice daily to lecture for an hour. Between sessions the boys spent their time translating Homer and the Greek testament and working on grammar and lessons from the master. Under Thaxter's counseling, JQA also attended lectures at the university ranging from medicine to law, the latter given by the celebrated professor Frederik Willem Pestel. In early Jan. 1781 Thaxter and JQA were matriculated, and CA, at

first regarded as too young for consideration, eventually was admitted later that month. Aside from requests for ice skates and riding lessons, JQA's full attention in Leyden was on his studies, adhering to them, wrote Waterhouse in the spring, "with a consistency rarely seen at that age."

At least two of JQA's schoolwork manuscripts for this period have survived among the Adams Papers. One is a 100-page French translation of the fables of Phædrus, copied between February and May 1781 evidently from Wensing's translation; the other is a 104-page Greek treatise, compiled in Jan. 1781. Another French translation of the fables, of 76 pages, as well as a partial, 56-page rendition in French of Cornelius Nepos' *Vitae Excellentium Imperatorum*, a school text for elementary Latin, may also date from this period (M/JQA/23, 22, 43, Microfilms, Reel Nos. 218, 217, 238). Near the time that JQA resumed his Diary, in June of 1781, his father was advising him by letter to turn to Demosthenes and Cicero, and also not to neglect authors in his own language, especially the English poets. This may help to explain why D/JQA/4 resembles not only a Diary but also a commonplace book with samplings of several English poets, dramatists, and essayists.

When JQA resumed his Diary on 9 June, he was still at Leyden. He left for Amsterdam that day and returned on 27 June, sometime after the decision was made for him to accompany Dana to Russia.

² For a description and view of JA's residence in Amsterdam, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:ix, facing p. 322.

³ Here follows, on one and one-half pages in the Diary, Hamlet's "To be, or not to be" soliloquy. JQA's citation of the scene number and other internal variations show that he was using William Warburton's edition of Pope's *The Works of Shakespear in Eight Volumes* . . . , London, 1747, 8:182–183. This passage is titled "Chap. 1." by JQA. For each subsequent piece copied in this Diary he has assigned a chapter number.

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SUNDAY JUNE THE 10TH 1781.

This morning I got up at about 7 1/2 o'clock breakfasted and at about 9 o'clock Pappa, brother Charles and myself went to the English presbyterian Church and heard a Sermon; the text was in Thessalonians 1st: 5 Ch: 17th vs. "pray Without ceasing."

We got home at about eleven o'clock. As we came out of the Church we found Mr. Jennings in the Coach, he said he had been deterred by his barber. We dined at home; Mr. Jennings din'd with us; at two o'clock brother Charles and Myself went again to Church; our text was in the Psalms: after Church we went to Mr. Kaa's to see Mr. Bordly but he was gone out to take a walk; but we found Mr. Jennings, Mr. Brush,¹ Dr. Brown, Mr. Greves and two other gentlemen, and soon after Mr. Bordly came in. We stay'd there some time and then Mr. Jennings came with brother Charles and Myself to Pappa's house; the other gentlemen went to take a walk; at about 6 o'clock Pappa and Mr. Jennings went out together, and brother Charles and I, went to see Messrs. Sigourney² and Ingraham. They were gone to take a walk, but the ladies were at home, we found Mr. Thaxter there, some time after the Gentlemen came home; we stay'd there about an hour and at about 7 o'clock we came back again; we found Mr. Guild and Mr. Jennings here; at about Nine o'clock we went to Madm. Chabanel's; we found her, and the young ladies at home, but Mr. Le Roi and young Mr. Chabanel were gone out; we supp'd there and got home at about 10 1/2 o'clock. At about 11 o'clock we went to bed.³

¹ Eliphalet Brush, New York ship-owner and merchant, who returned to America from Amsterdam in late September with dispatches to congress from JA. He and his brothers, sons of a prominent Huntington, N.Y., merchant, owned extensive plantations in Demarara, British Guiana, now called Georgetown, Guyana (Conklin Mann, "Thomas and Richard Brush of Huntington, Long Island," N.Y. *Geneal. and Biog. Rec.*, 67:21, 132 [Jan., April 1936]; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:219).

² Charles Sigourney, a Boston merchant and partner in the Amsterdam mercantile firm of Sigourney, Ingraham & Bromfield (Sigourney to Aaron Lopez, 6 March 1781, MHi:Wetmore Coll.; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:453-454, 456; *Boston Directory*, 1789). See also entry for 19 Aug. 1780, note 3 (above).

³ Here follows "Chap. 2." on about one and one-half pages in the Diary, 28 lines, beginning, "All the world's a stage," from *As You Like It*.

MONDAY JUNE THE 11TH 1781.

This morning I got up at about 8 o'clock breakfasted, and went to see Mr. Deneufville; we staid there about a half an hour and

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then went and took a walk; we went to the Western market and walked about 1/4 of an hour and then went to Mr. Guild's lodgings, but did not find him at home; we then return'd to Pappa's house. In coming we saw young Mr. Chabanel and spoke to him. At two o'clock we din'd; Mr. Guild din'd with us. After dinner, Mr. Dana, Mr. Guild, brother Charles and myself went and drank tea at Madam Chabanel's. After tea we went to the old-Man-house¹ and bought some things; after that, Mr. Dana, brother Charles and myself, went to see Mr. Tegelaar, we found Burger-Master Hoofd there; after staying about a half of an hour we went to Mr. Hartsinck's where we found the Young Miss Chabanel's, Mr. Menoir (a french Gentleman,) and another Gentleman, who lives at Rotterdam, we Stay'd there a little while and from thence went home, we got here at about 9 o clock. At about half past ten I went to bed.²

¹ The Oude Mannen en Vrouwen-gasthuis; that is, a home for old people, founded in 1559, built around a courtyard on the south side of which was a broad and high gallery with eighteen arcades rented as shops whose profits were returned to the home (*Le Guide, ou nouvelle description d'Amsterdam*, p. 175-176).

² Here follows "Chap. 3d.," covering almost two pages in the Diary and consisting of twenty-eight lines from *King Henry IV*, Part II, Act III, scene i, lines 4-31, beginning "How many thousand of my

poorest subjects."

Because of occasional differences in act, scene, and line numbers of plays by Shakespeare as quoted and cited by Adams in his Diary, these quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are given modernized citations without volume and page number from the authoritative Cambridge edition (*Works of Shakespear*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, John Dover Wilson, and J. C. Maxwell, Cambridge, Eng., 1921-).

TUESDAY JUNE THE 12TH 1781.

This morning after breakfast I went to Mr. Sigourny's to see about some quill's. He gave me a paper of the place where he buys his; after that I went and bought some. I din'd at home, Mr. Dennie, Mr. Donalson, and Mr. Sigourny and Mr. Du Barry din'd with us; Mr. Dennie, Mr. Donalson and Mr. Du Barry have just arriv'd here from the West India's; after dinner I went to see Mr. Greves and Mr. Brailsford, but they were not at home. I went to the first bible to see Mr. Bordly; I stay'd with him sometime and then came home.

From Guthrie's Grammar. NETHERLANDS. Chap 4th §:1.¹

¹ Here follows, on four pages of the Diary, the first three "sections," as JQA describes them, of the account of the

United Provinces of the Netherlands by William Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 399-400, at which point are described

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the physical "extent, situation and boundaries," as well as the "air, seasons, soil, and face of the country." JQA collectively designated material copied from Guthrie as "Chapter 4," assigning "section" num-

bers roughly matching Guthrie's topical subheadings, which are unnumbered in the source. JQA acquired a copy of the 1779 edition sometime in 1781 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

WEDNESDAY JUNE THE 13TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Cerisier¹ came here and said that he had read in the Brussels Gazette, that there had been a second action between Lord Cornwallis and General Green, that General Green had been repulsed with the loss of 400 men, but he says he don't know by which way the news comes.²

At eleven o'clock I went to take a walk with Mr. Bordly and brother Charles; we met Mr. Le Roi on the Way. He ask'd us to go to Sloot [Sloten?] with him this afternoon, we told him we would.

Mr. Cerisier din'd with us, after dinner brother Charles and I went to Sloot, which is a small village, about 7 Miles from Amsterdam, we found Mr. Hartsinck, Mr. Le Roi, Young Mr. Chabanel, Mr. Scravensvert, and Mr. Menoir there; we went into water, in the Haerlem me[e]r. We got home at about half past 8 o'clock.

From Guthrie's Grammar. (continued from yesterday) Chap 4th §: 4th.³

¹ Antoine Marie Cerisier, a French publicist and historical writer living in Amsterdam, who earlier in 1781 established the periodical paper, *Le politique hollandais*, the Dutch Politician, which actively promoted the American cause and was widely read (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:454).

² There was no "second battle" after Guilford Court House between Greene and Cornwallis. Greene fought Rawdon

unsuccessfully at Hobkirk's Hill on 25 April. Technically Rawdon was under Cornwallis' command. American casualties numbered 134 (Willard M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms*, N.Y., 1951, p. 240-241).

³ Here follow, on about two and one-quarter pages in the Diary, the description of Dutch rivers and harbors, and Section 5, "vegetable and animal productions by sea and land," from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 400-401.

THURSDAY JUNE THE 14TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Jennings and Mr. Greves came here with An English Gazette; in which there is the detail of the action between Cornwallis and Green. Cornwallis writes¹ that he has obtain'd a compleat victory; but he has thought proper to run away to Wilmington, General Green is at Camden; Cornwallis has made a Proclamation of pardon to every body (murderers ex-

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cepted) but does not mention of one single man's having come over to him yet; his army was two days without any provisions. He writes in one part of his letter that a defensive war would be certain destruction to the british forces; in another, he says he can only act upon the defensive; therefore by his own confession let him act after what manner he will; it is certain destruction to the british there.

Mr. Jennings and Mr. Greves breakfasted here; I did not go out in the forenoon: Mr. Waldo din'd with us; after dinner I went and took a walk with Mr. Dana. We went to the printer's of the Amsterdam Gazette for a couple of old numbers for Mr. Dana, We Walk'd to the Western market; and look'd about the shops, and then came home.

Continued From Yesterday from Guthries Grammar. Chap: 4th §:6th.²

¹ Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 17 March (two letters), Cornwallis to Germain, 18 April, with his Proclamation of 18 March, all published in the *London Chronicle for the Year 1781*, 49:537-540 (5-7 June).

² On the next two and one-half pages in the Diary JQA has copied the first paragraph of the section entitled "population, inhabitants, manners, customs and diversions," from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 401.

FRIDAY JUNE THE 15TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Dana, Mr. Thaxter, brother Charles and myself went to Kaa's, to see Mr. Jennings and Mr. Bordly. We found Mr. Searle¹ there; he has just arriv'd from the Texel; where he has been since saturday.

We stay'd sometime there and then went to take a ride; we went out of the Haerlem Port, and rid round by the side of the outer Cingel² and came in again into the Leyden Port.

After dinner I wrote a letter to Dr. Waterhouse;³ and then went to Madam Chabanel's where I found Mr. Brailsford; he went away soon after, and I went to take a walk, with the young ladies; when we got back we found Mr. Le Roi, and young Mr. Chabanel at home; I return'd home soon after.

The English papers are arriv'd. There is an account of an action between Commodore Johnstone and the french Squadron which was going to the East India's, but we have not got the paper in which an account of it is given; and therefore, do not yet know the details.

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From Guthrie's Grammar. Chap 4th § 6th (Continuation from yesterday).⁴

¹ James Searle, member of the Continental Congress, 1778–1780, was in Europe from 1780 to 1782 as a commissioner for Pennsylvania to negotiate a loan with France and Holland, but his efforts were unsuccessful (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*; Mildred E. Lombard, "James Searle: Radical Businessman of the Revolution," *PMHB*, 59:284–294 [July 1935]).

² The outer Singel canal, one of two by

that name in Amsterdam: this one formed the outer boundary of the old city.

³ Letter not found.

⁴ On the following two and one-half pages in the Diary JQA continued his transcription of the second paragraph from the same subsection of Guthrie which he began the day before (p. 401–402).

SATURDAY JUNE THE 16TH 1781.

This day Mr. Brice, Commodore Gillon, Colo. Searle, Major Jackson, Captn. Coltyzer and Mr. Jennings din'd here; Major Jackson¹ has read in Lloyd's list an account of an old French sixty four gun Ship's having been taken by the Jamaica fleet with eighty pieces of brass cannon twenty thousand suits of cloaths and two Millions of Livres on board bound to North America, but this news is not yet ascertain'd. We have a letter in one of the papers from Commodore Johnstone, containing the details of the action which I spoke of yesterday; he gives himself a Victory but his letter gives but a poor and broken account of it, and the French might call it a victory to them with as much (and perhaps more) truth than the English can.

From Guthrie's grammar (continuation from Yesterday) Chap 4th §:6th.²

¹ William Jackson, from South Carolina, who served under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln in his southern campaign, 1778–1780, and then accompanied John Laurens to Europe in the spring of 1781 to obtain additional financial aid and military supplies. In August, JA put CA in the care of Jackson, who was returning to America on the ill-fated *South Carolina*.

Both changed passage in La Coruña, however, and finally arrived in Massachusetts in Jan. 1782 (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:55, 170–171).

² On the next three pages of the Diary, JQA copied the final two paragraphs on Dutch "population, inhabitants, manners, customs and diversions," begun on 14 June (p. 402).

SUNDAY JUNE THE 17TH 1781.

This morning Pappa, Mr. Dana, brother Charles and I, went to the English presbyterian Church, to hear a Sermon, the text was.

"And the times of this ignorance god winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent." Acts 17:30.

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Mr. Brice din'd with us, after dinner I went alone to Church again; the text was.

"And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins." Matthew 1st. 21st.

After Church I went to see Mr. Bordly; a little after brother Charles and Mr. Brice came there, brother Charles, Mr. Bordly and I went out to take a walk. We went to see Mr. Greves, but he was not at home; brother Charles and I went from thence to Madam Chabanel's where we supp'd; at about half past ten we came home.

From Guthrie's Grammar (continued from yesterday) Chapter 4th §: 7th.¹

¹ Here follow, on two pages of the Diary, "sections" 7, 8, and 9 from Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar*, p. 402-403, on Dutch dress, religion, and language. JQA copied the "Lord's Prayer" in

Dutch from a source other than Guthrie because, as he later explained, it had been rendered incomplete there (entry for 10 July, below).

MONDAY JUNE 18TH 1781.

This morning I went to a bookseller's to get the *Politique Hollandois*; Mr. Cerisier din'd here; after dinner I went to Mr. Sigourney's and drank tea there; after tea I went to see Mr. Greves, he was not at home, but as I was returning I met him in the Street and went to his house with him again, we went to the Coffy house where I left Mr. Greaves, and return'd home at about 9 o'clock.

(From Guthrie's Grammar continued from Yesterday) Chap. 4th §: 10th.¹

¹ On the next three and one-half pages of the Diary, JQA transcribed sections 10-12 from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 403, concerning Dutch learning and learned men, universities, and "antiquities and curiosities, natural and artificial."

TUESDAY JUNE THE 19TH 1781.

This day we all din'd at Mr. Deneufville's with Mr. Cerisier Colo. Searle Mr. Brice Mr. Van Hasseldt, Mr. Le Comte, Comodore Gillon, and Mr. Jennings, after dinner I went to Madam Chabanel's: after I had been there a little while Mr. Thaxter, Mr. Bromfield,¹ Mr. Guild and brother Charles came there; we

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went to take a walk out of the town. We walked some ways and then we return'd home and the gentlemen left us.

§: 13th.²

¹ Probably Henry Bromfield Jr., who had left Massachusetts the previous July to settle some of his father's accounts, and who possibly had helped establish earlier in 1781 the Amsterdam mercantile firm of Sigourney, Ingraham & Bromfield (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:453-454, 456; *Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 2:272; 3:434; 4:49, 313).

² On the following two and one-half pages from the Diary is Guthrie's account of Dutch "cities, towns, and other edifices, public and private" (*Geographical Grammar*, p. 403-404). At the point where

Guthrie's commentary turns to the Dutch village of Saardam (p. 404), in which Peter the Great served an apprenticeship in shipbuilding, JQA has inserted the note, "Vide. Voltaire History of Russia. Chapter 9th.," in which the French historian elaborates on the Russian czar's experience there (*Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, 2 vols., n.p., 1759, 1:152-154). This work was purchased by JQA a month later in Cologne on his journey to Russia and is listed in the *Catalogue of JQA's Books*.

WEDNESDAY JUNE THE 20TH 1781.

This morning I went to Mr. Sigourney's to carry the English news Papers to him, din'd at home. After dinner I went with Mr. Dana to take a walk, we went to Commodore Gillon's, he was not at home, but as we were returning, we met him, and Mr. Dana went to his house again with him, and I return'd home.

Chapter 4th. §: 14th.¹

¹ Here follows, on about two and one-quarter pages in the Diary, JQA's transcription of Dutch "inland navigation, canals, and manner of travelling," from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 404.

THURSDAY JUNE THE 21ST 1781.

This day I din'd at Madam Chabanel's, with Mr. Jennings, Captn. Coltyzer Mr. and Madam Hartsinck Mr. Searle Mr. Dana, Mr. Thaxter, Mr. Nickson, Pappa and brother Charles; after dinner I went to see Mr. Bordly, and return'd home at about 9 o'clock.

From Guthrie's grammar (continued from yesterday[]) Chap 4th §: 15th.¹

¹ The next two pages in the Diary contain the first half of the section on Dutch commerce and manufacturers (p. 404).

FRIDAY JUNE THE 22D 1781.

This morning I went to Mr. De la Lande and Fynje's;¹ din'd at home. Mr. Guild din'd Here. After dinner I went to Madam Cha-

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banel's with the coach; she went to take a ride; we went through a village call'd Diem[en?], and went to Mr. Hartsinck's country seat. We stay'd there a little while and then return'd in to town to Madam Chabanel's, Mr. Brailsford came there soon after; and brother Charles and I went with him to the coffy House where we found Mr. Greaves and Mr. Brush, from thence we went to Mr. Brailsford's lodgings, and return'd home at about 10 o'clock.

From Guthrie's Grammar (continued from yesterday) Chap 4th §. 15th.²

¹ Jacobus de la Lande and Hendrik Fynje, merchant bankers of Amsterdam, who, with the Willinks and Van Stap-horsts, raised the first Dutch loan to the United States in 1782 (Chr. Kroes-Ligtenberg, "Een Vriend van Aagje Deken," *De*

Gids, Amsterdam, pt. I [1942]:96; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:451).

² Here follows, on two pages in the Diary, the concluding section on Dutch commerce and manufacturers (p. 401-402).

SATURDAY JUNE THE 23D 1781.

This morning I went with Mr. Dana to the old Man House to buy a few things. We hear that a courier is arriv'd at the Hague from Madrid who was only eleven days upon the Journey, he brings news that two Dutch fregates commanded by the Captains *Oorthius* and *Melvill* had been out to *meet* the Dutch East India Ships which were coming home; and had done it accordingly, and were returning to Cadix with them when they fell in with two English 74 Gun Ships and after a Smart battle Melvill was taken and one of the E. I. M. Sunk but Oorthius carry'd into Cadix the five others.

Mr. Guild and Mr. Jones din'd here. Nothing remarkable in the afternoon.

From Guthrie's grammar. (continued from yesterday) Chapter 4th §. 16th.¹

¹ On the next one and one-half pages of the Diary, JQA has transcribed the section on Dutch public trading companies (p. 405).

SUNDAY JUNE THE 24TH 1781.

Nothing remarkable in the forenoon, Mr. Thaxter din'd at Mr. Sigourney's; I din'd at home, after dinner I went to take a walk with Mr. Dana; we walk'd someways out of town, in the evening I went to Madam Chabanel's where I supp'd; got home at about 10 1/2 o'clock.

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(Continuation from yesterday) From Guthrie's grammar. Chapter 4th §: 17th.¹

¹ Here follows, on about one page in the Diary, the first paragraph of the section on the Dutch constitution and government (p. 405). JQA did not resume his copying from this section until 7 July.

MONDAY JUNE THE 25TH 1781.

This morning I went to Mr. Crajenschot's to get the 20th No. of the *Politique Hollandois* which comes out every week, there is something in the last No. worth copying which I shall do at the end of this day's journal. Din'd at home, after dinner went to see Mr. Bordly and afterwards to Madam Chabanel's. Got home at about half past nine o'clock.

From the *Politique Hollandois* Chapter 5th.¹

¹ On the following two pages in the Diary, JQA has translated into English the first half of a portion of an article in the 25 June issue of *Le politique hollandais*, 1:315. The passage, which is continued in the following day's entry, relates an imaginary dream in which a Dutch courier is sent to St. Petersburg to exchange diplomatic assurances for armed ships of war (under

the Russian Declaration of Armed Neutrality of 1780) and concludes with what the Russians supposedly gave in return. As a whole, the article argues for all-out war by the Dutch against the English, since Russia's friendship with England makes the league of armed neutrality futile.

TUESDAY JUNE THE 26TH 1781.

Nothing remarkable in the forenoon; after dinner I went with Doctor Brown to the New French Coffy House where we found Mr. Greaves and Mr. Brush, we then went and took a long walk and came along by the first bible and there I left the gentlemen and went to see Mr. Bordly, brother Charles came in soon after. We staid there some time and got home at about 8 o'clock.

From the *Politique Hollandois* (continued from yesterday).¹

¹ Same, p. 315-316, on two pages in the Diary.

WEDNESDAY JUNE THE 27TH 1781.

This morning I went to take a walk with Mr. Bordly met in the street two of my old schoolmates; went to Madam Chabanel's. We did not Stay there long; din'd at home; after dinner brother Charles and I went out of the Leyden Gate, and from thence to the Haerlem Schout with an intention of going to Leyden this

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day. When we got to the Schout we found the Roof was hir'd and some were obliged to go in the Ruim.¹ We had a number of fellow travellers, but one of them who was some peasant or other, and who had drank full his portion, thinking himself very wise took all the conversation to himself and pleas'd us very much by his talk. When we had got half ways to Haerlem we chang'd boats, and our Boor² took a~~(nother)~~ glass of gin which made his tongue run about half as fast again as it did before. We got to Haerlem at about half past five o'clock; we found that the fair is at Haerlem at present; We passed through the city and went out to the Leyden Boat; but found that the Roof was hir'd again and so we were oblig'd to go again in the Ruim; Our Boor did not go to Leyden with us; we arriv'd at Leyden at about half past ten.

Fine weather all day.

Chapter 6th. From Pope's works. Messiah. a sacred eclogue, in imitation of Virgil's Pollio.³

¹ Schout (schuyt or schuit): a boat or barge; roof (roef): the cabin of a small vessel; ruim: the hold of a boat (William Sewel, *Nieuw Woordenboek Der Nederduytsche en Engelsche Taale*, Amsterdam, n.d.). "A treckscuit [covered boat] is divided into two different apartments, called the roof and the ruim; the first for gentlemen, and the other for common people, who may read, smoke, eat, drink, or converse with people of various nations, dresses, and languages" (Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 404, which JQA copied into his Diary entry of 20 June, above).

² That is, a boer, or Dutch peasant.

³ Here follows, on five and one-half pages in the Diary, Pope's "Messiah . . .," which had been copied in JQA's entry of 12 Sept. 1780 from *The Spectator*. It is likely that here JQA was using the J. Balfour edition of *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, Edinburgh, 1764. The JA Library contains an incomplete set of this six-volume edition. Three of the four extant volumes contain JQA's earliest bookplate and classification numbers, which indicate that the volumes were probably purchased sometime in 1781 (*Catalogue of JA's Library*). In the Balfour edition this poem is at 1:37-43.

THURSDAY JUNE THE 28TH 1781.

This morning brother Charles and I, went to buy a trunk, when we had got it here we began to pack up our books, which we did before dinner. After dinner Pappa sent for us from the golden Lion. We went there and found Mr. Jennings there. We did not stay there long, but went to Mr. Lynch's, and went into water with him and some other gentlemen; at eight o'clock our Master came here and we took leave of him.

Chapter 7th. From Pope's works.¹

¹ Here follows, on about four pages in the Diary, the first four sections (seventy lines) of Pope's "Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day" (Pope, *Works*, Balfour edn., 1:69-71).

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FRIDAY JUNE THE 29TH 1781.

This morning brother Charles and I packed up our trunks, and I went to take leave of our riding master; in the afternoon Pappa came here but stay'd only ten minutes; we went to Mr. Lynch's at about 4 o'clock; he asked us to go into water with him at 5 o'clock, we told him we would, we went then to take leave of Mr. Luzac.¹ At five o'clock we went again to Mr. Lynch's and went with him into water. Mr. Cook² told us that he would go to Amsterdam with us. We got home at about 7 o'clock.

From Pope's works (continued from yesterday).³

¹ Although this is the first mention in the Diary, Jean Luzac had taken special interest in JQA and CA during their brief attendance at the University of Leyden in 1781. Luzac was editor of the widely influential *Gazette de Leyde*, as well as a lawyer and a scholar of history and the classics. He was on JA's list of persons to be consulted in Holland in 1780 and became an invaluable supporter of the campaign to obtain Dutch recognition of American independence and financial support (JA,

Diary and Autobiography, 2:444-445; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:xiv).

² John Cooke, an Englishman who completed his medical studies at Leyden and practiced in London (JQA, Diary, 2 Dec. 1795; *DNB*).

³ JQA copied on about the next three and one-quarter pages in the Diary the concluding two sections of Pope's "Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day," begun in the previous entry (Pope, *Works*, Balfour edn., 1:71-73).

SATURDAY JUNE THE 30TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Cook came here and breakfasted with us and at half past six we went to the boat to go to Amsterdam; we had nothing very remarkable, going to Haerlem, where we arriv'd at half past ten o'clock. We went thro' the city to the Amsterdam boat, we found that there was place in the Roof; we had one gentleman with us. We arriv'd at Amsterdam at half past one o'clock, brother Charles went to show Mr. Cook the way to the first bible; Mr. Van Heukelom din'd with us; after dinner I went to Kaa's to see Mr. Bordly; but found he was out, and therefore I return'd home.

From Pope's works. Prologue to Mr. Addison's Tragedy of Cato. Chapter 8th.¹

¹ The 46 lines of the Prologue take up two and one-half pages in the Diary (Pope, *Works*, Balfour edn., 1:158-159).

SUNDAY JULY THE 1ST 1781.

This morning Pappa and brother Charles and I went to church; din'd at home, Mr. Cook, Mr. Jennings, and another

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Gentleman din'd with us; brother Charles and I went again to church. After Church Mr. Sigourney, Mr. Ingraham, Mr. Bromfield and Mr. Merrick came here but did not stay here long.

From Dr Garths' works. Epilogue to the Tragedy of Cato. Chapter 9th.¹

¹ The forty-line Epilogue, containing several transcription errors, follows on the next two pages in the Diary (Samuel Garth, *Works*, Dublin, 1769, p. 117–118). On this day JQA also copied, on two and

one-half pages in the Diary as Chapter 10, the fifty-line "Epilogue to Mr. Rowe's *Jane Shore*," with several slight irregularities (Pope, *Works*, Balfour edn., 1:160–161).

MONDAY JULY THE 2D 1781.

This morning Major Jackson came here; I went to Mr. Crajenschot's for the *Politique Hollandois*. At about ten o'clock Pappa set out upon a journey for Paris; We all din'd at home; after dinner, I went to Mr. Sigourney and Ingraham's but did not stay there long. I went to Madam Chabanel's; but found no body but the old lady at home; Mr. Le Roi and young Mr. Chabanel came home. At about half past nine I got home.

The Universal Prayer. (From Pope's works) Deo. Opt. Max. Chap: 11th.¹

¹ The thirteen four-line stanzas fill three and one-half pages of the Diary (same, 2:67–69).

TUESDAY JULY THE 3D 1781.

Din'd at home, after dinner Mr. Searle and Major Jackson came here. At about nine o'clock a thunder Storm came up, and lasted till about eleven, it Struck a Windmill, and burnt it to the ground, and would probably have communicated itself to another which was near it, if a very heavy shower of rain had not hinder'd it.

From Waller's works. Chap. 12th. Of The Fear of God. In two Cantoes.¹

¹ Here follows, on three and one-half pages in the Diary, the first canto (64 lines) from Edmund Waller's poem, "Of the Fear of God. In Two Cantoes." Possibly JQA transcribed it from his own copy

of *Works of Edmund Waller, Esq. in Verse and Prose* . . ., London, 1772, p. 147–149, which, according to his bookplate, he purchased sometime in 1781 (MQA).

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WEDNESDAY JULY THE 4TH 1781.

This day being the Anniversary of American Independance, all the Americans din'd together, at a place call'd De Nieuwe Stads Herberg, but brother Charles and I could not go. In the afternoon Brother Charles and I went to the Oude Man Huis to buy some things, We went to Madam Chabanel's, brother Charles went away soon after and I went to take a walk with the young ladies, I supp'd there, and after supper went again to take a walk. I got home at about 11 o'clock.

From Waller's Works. (Continued from Yesterday) Canto 2d.¹

¹ The second and final canto, of 54 lines, takes up three pages in the Diary (same, p. 149-150).

THURSDAY JULY THE 5TH 1781.

This morning I went to see when the boats go for Utrecht. Mr. Dana and Mr. Thaxter din'd at Mr. Sigourney's; I din'd at home. After dinner went to see Mr. Greaves; but found only Mr. Brailsford at home; I stay'd there but a little time, and went for Kaa's; in the way I met Mr. Greaves and Captn. Henzel; and went to take a walk with them out of the Haerlem Porte and down along upon the Dyke; as we were returning we stopp'd at the third Bible to see Captn. Cazneau. When we had got to the first bible I went in to see Mr. Bordly. I got home at about half past ten.

From Addison's Poems Chapter 13th. HORACE. Ode 3d. Book 3d.¹

¹ The first seventy lines of Addison's translation of Horace's Ode III, Book III, fill the next three and three-quarter pages in the Diary (Joseph Addison, *The Miscel-*

laneous Works in Verse and Prose . . ., 3 vols., London, 1766, 1:156-159, in JA's Library at MB).

FRIDAY JULY THE 6TH 1781.

This morning Dr. Waterhouse came here and told us that Colo. Trumbul¹ had arriv'd in Town. I went to the first Bible to see Mr. Bordly, I found Mr. Trumbel there. I din'd at home. Dr. Waterhouse din'd with us; after dinner Colo. Searle and Major Jackson came here; I went and took a walk with Major Jackson and Mr. Dana. I spent the evening and supp'd at Madam Chabanel's, got home at about 10 o'clock.

From Addison's Poems. (continued from yesterday.)²

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¹ John Trumbull, the Revolutionary painter, whom JQA had met in Paris in 1780 just prior to the artist's departure for London, where he briefly studied under Benjamin West. In Nov. 1780, shortly after his arrival in London, Trumbull was imprisoned on suspicion of treason. He secured his release in June 1781 through the intercession of Charles Fox and Edmund Burke. Trumbull had come to Amsterdam as the fastest route back to America, and there at the request of his father (Gov.

Jonathan Trumbull) attempted to obtain a loan for Connecticut through the de Neufvilles and van Staphorsts; he was unsuccessful (*The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist, 1756-1843*, ed. Theodore Sizer, New Haven, 1953, p. 58-74).

² On the next three pages in the Diary, JQA copied fifty-nine of sixty lines to conclude Addison's translation of Horace's Ode III, Book III (*Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose*, 1:159-161).

SATURDAY JULY THE 7TH 1781.

This morning we pack'd up everything; to go a Journey; At about 11 o'clock Mr. Trumble and Dr. Waterhouse came here; I went with Dr. Waterhouse to show him the way to Madam Chabanel's; At about half past twelve I set away from our house with Mr. Dana's servant, and went to the Utrecht Boat; at 1 o'clock we set off; I had for companions A French gentleman and lady, and two Dutch gentlemen; We travell'd about three hours, without seeing anything remarkable but after we had pass'd a small village call'd Niewen Sluys [Nieuwersluis] along for the Space of Seven or eight English Miles, the whole way is lin'd on both Sides with country Seats with their gardens belonging for the most part to Citizens of Amsterdam. We arriv'd at Utrecht at about half past eight o'clock, it is about thirty English Miles by water. Utrecht is about sixteen feet higher than Amsterdam, and the ground here is much higher than the water, which is not a very common thing in Holland; We found Mr. Dana and Mr. Deneufville here; It rained hard when we arriv'd: We lodge at the New Castle of Antwerp.

From Guthrie's Grammar. Continuation of Chapter 4th. § 17th. (continued from Page 57.)¹

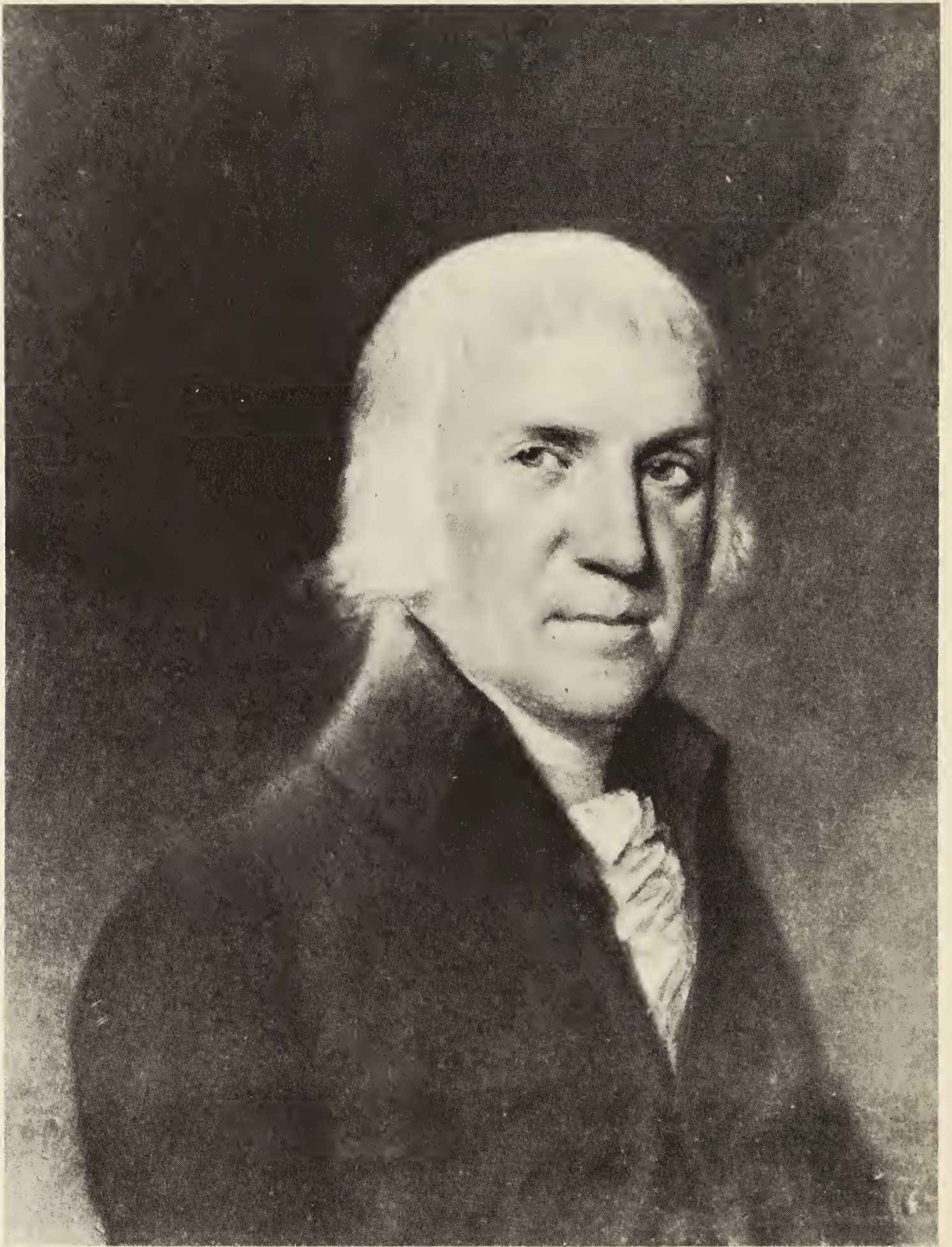
¹ Here follows, on four pages in the Diary, the completion of JQA's transcription on the Dutch constitution and government from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 405-406, which he began on 24 June.

SUNDAY JULY THE 8TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Dana and Mr. Deneufville¹

¹ The day's entry breaks at this point because the succeeding MS leaf containing p. 113-114 of the Diary volume is miss-

ing. This and similar losses of leaves from the same volume containing p. 127-128 and 149-156, affecting entries for 11, 12



4. FRANCIS DANA, BY SHARPLES, POST 1794
See pages ix-x

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July, and 27 July–17 Aug., were noted in the MS by Worthington C. Ford in April 1911. Dana's Journal, which covers the entire journey to St. Petersburg, helps to fill in the gap for this day's activities. Dana and JQA did not continue on their trip, though young Adams may have accompanied Dana when he briefly visited the nearby Moravian settlement of Zeyst. Otherwise, both remained in Utrecht until the following day, so that they could

purchase a coach for the trip to Russia in order to "avoid the trouble and delay of changing carriages as well as horses, as in the manner of the Posts in Germany" (Dana, Journal).

The entry in its present state concludes with a passage from the *Geographical Grammar* (p. 406–407), which probably began at the point where JQA had left off copying the day before. However, as the MS remains there is a hiatus.

MONDAY JULY THE 9TH 1781.

This morning Mr Deneufville and Mr. Dana went to look for a carriage, I did not go out in the forenoon; din'd at the Inn; after dinner I went to buy some things at the fair, which began here this morning; got home at about six o'clock.

From Guthrie's Grammer. (continued from yesterday) Chapter 4th. §. 21st.¹

N. B. *As there are several errors in this description I shall tomorrow point out such of them as I know.*

¹ JQA concludes his copying from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, with the section on the history of the seventeen provinces, which covers nearly five pages in the Diary. To this he has added a list of

towns and provinces in the Netherlands retained by the French as provided in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748 (p. 411–412, 408).

TUESDAY JULY THE 10TH 1781.

This morning at about half past nine o'clock Mr. Dana, his servant and I set away from Utrecht, and arriv'd at Ni[j]megen at about 8 o'clock P.M. the distance, is about 50 Miles; We pass'd along thro' the province of Utrecht, the land is very bad and gravelly. Nimegen is the last City in the Republic, in the Province of Gelderland; the land in this Province is much better than in that of Utrecht. At 4 1/2 o'clock we pass'd the Rhine by a rope ferry and at about five o'clock we came upon a dyke on the banks of the river Waal; and rode along upon that till we came opposite Nimegen, where we cross'd it upon a moveable bridge of boats; the construction of which is thus. There are several boats join'd to the shore, with timbers laid over them, and planks over the timbers, at the end of these are two more boats, join'd together

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(with timbers and planks over them also,) which are seperated from the rest but join'd by a rope when these boats arrive. On the platform of these two boats are two small masts, connected by a cross piece together; over this cross piece goes a small cable fix'd to the stern of the boats; the other end goes up the stream to several small boats which are in the river and then there is a Chain fasten'd to the cable which goes over all these small boats and is hook'd at the stern of each of them. (These small boats are at a small distance one from the other in a perpendicular line, up the stream). The highest small boat is secured by an Anchor; When they cross, they cast of[f] the rope which joins them to the boats which go to the shore and the two boats are wafted over, gradually, by the current to the other shore where there are several more boats connected to the shore, after the same manner.

This is a very convenient method, as five or six hundred men can cross upon one of these machines at a time, and there is but very little trouble in it. But there must be a strong current which runs always the same way; otherwise they cannot go over.

Remarks upon Chapter 4th.

§. 6th. (*Page 27. line 9 to 11*) *Their tradesmen &c.*¹

This is certainly a great mistake, for the tradesmen will always ask for a thing the double of what it is worth and if you have any thing made, you will certainly get greatly cheated if you do not make the bargain before hand as the dutch themselves always do.

Do. lines 13 and 14) *Smoaking tobacco &c.*²

The men and boys smoak almost universally but the Women never do.

*Do. Page 32 lines 18 and 19.) They are &c.*³

The dutch it is true skate exceeding swiftly, but with not half that elegance that I expected they wou'd.

§ 9th: (*Page 36 line 10 to Page 37 line 2*) *Onze Vader &c.*⁴

I have not copy'd the lords pray'r from Guthrie, because there are several words left out in his book and it is not entire.

§ 17th. (*Page 111 line 12 to line 15*) *And such is &c.*⁵

In the city of Amsterdam when a *Schepen* (a Sheriff) is apointed,⁶ his name is given to the Stadholder, and he can reject him and appoint another in his place but after that he cannot change him, but he can in all the other cities.

(End.)

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¹ Passage copied in entry of 15 June (above), quoting material from Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 401: "Their Tradesmen are in general very honest in all their dealings. . . ."

² P. 401: "Smoaking tobacco is practised by old and young of both sexes. . . ."

³ From entry of 16 June (above), same, p. 402: "They are the best skaters upon the ice in the world."

⁴ From entry of 17 June (above), same, p. 402–403, concerning Guthrie's rendition of the Lord's Prayer in Dutch.

⁵ From entry of 7 July (above), same, p. 406: "The Stadtholder is president of the states of every province; and such is his power and influence, that he can change the deputies, magistrates, and officers, in every province and city."

These comments on Guthrie's misstatements about the Dutch were more

than matched by JQA's criticisms of Guthrie's account of France (p. 373–399), a country of which he had had some first-hand knowledge, exclaiming at one point in a marginal note to his copy of the volume, "how long O Englishmen will be prejudiced against the French" (p. 378). In his copy of *Geographical Grammar*, now at MQA, he labeled many of Guthrie's statements "false," at one point "horribly false," and at another called the author a fool for describing the properties of the French language as "undoubtedly greatly inferior to the English, but they are well adapted to subjects void of elevation or passion. It is well accommodated to dalliance, compliments, and common conversation" (p. 378–381).

⁶ At this point in the margin JQA inserted: "there are three appointed every year."

WEDNESDAY JULY THE 11TH 1781.

This morning at about six o'clock we set off from Nimegen and arriv'd at about 8 P.M at Hochstrass the distance is about 70 Engh. Miles; We pass'd thro' Cleves [Kleve], Xanten, and Rheimberg [Rheinburg], three small unfortified towns, they all belong to the King of Prussia as does Hochstrass Which is the last town in his dominions, in this part of the country. There are but a few houses in Hochstrass, but there is a pretty good Inn there. The road this day was not good, and all that the ground produces here is Wheat, Buck Wheat, and Spelts.¹

From the Spectator. Chapter 14th. No. 631.²

¹ A species of grain related to wheat and grown in Europe (*OED*).

² Here follow nine lines from the first paragraph of the essay on cleanliness which appeared in the issue of 10 Dec. 1714 (*Spectator*, ed. Bond, 5:156–158). The entry is incomplete through the loss of the following leaf (p. 127–128; see note to

entry of 8 July, above). The concluding section undoubtedly carried the quotation from *The Spectator* to the end of its second paragraph since the quotation is resumed at paragraph three to conclude the entry of the following day, the 12th. The opening lines of that entry were also contained on the missing leaf.

THURSDAY JULY THE 12TH 1781.¹

Dusseldorp a small town strongly fortified on the land side, but open on the river Rhine which we were obliged to cross, (on one

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of the same machines that I have mention'd yesterday)² before we got there, it is in the Dutchy of Burgin [Berg] and is subject to the King of Prussia. There is a famous cabinet of Paintings here, but as we only stopp'd here to dine, and the cabinet not being then open, we did not see it. We set off from *Dusseldorf* directly after dinner and arriv'd at Cologne at about 8 o'clock; on the way we pass'd by a palace in which the Emperor, or the Archduke lodge, whenever they come this way. The roads this day were pretty good, but the produce of the ground is the same as what we have seen all along, that is, wheat, Buck wheat, and Spelts. We cross'd the Rhine again, when we got opposite Cologne, where there is a village, inhabited by Jews; A Nasty, dirty, Place indeed, and fit only for Jews to live in.

From the Spectator. (continued from yesterday).³

¹ The first part of this entry is missing; see the preceding note. According to Dana's Journal, the party left Hochstrass at 6 A.M. for Cologne, a distance of sixty English miles, and arrived at noon in Dusseldorf, at which point JQA's Diary continues.

² JQA's reference is to his entry of 10 July. The journey probably made Diary

entries on a day-to-day basis difficult, if not impossible. Under these circumstances entries for 10 and 11 July were probably written on the same day.

³ Here follow, on about a page and one-quarter of the Diary, the third and fourth paragraphs of *The Spectator* No. 631 (ed. Bond, 5:157).

FRIDAY JULY THE 13TH 1781.

This morning Mr. Dana and I went to see a gentleman for whom Mr. Dana had letters. He went to take a walk with us about the City which is large, but irregular, very old, and dirty, the streets are very narrow, and the houses are in a decaying situation. We went to see one of the Churches in which they say that the bodies of the three Wise men of the east are interr'd. The priests show their riches every day at 9 o'clock A.M. They have this inscription on the tomb.

"Corpora sanctorum recubant Hic terna Magorum,
Ex His sublatum Nihil est alibive Locatum"¹

There are here, about 50 protestant families; they are not allow'd to have any place of worship in the city, but they have a Church about 3 Miles from the city, where they go every Sunday, at a Small village call'd Mulheim; Subject to the Elector Palatine; the Protestants here cannot own houses or farms, but they buy them, and agree with a Catholic to own the house or

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farm under his name; they can sell goods in retail only; and they cannot be mechanics; this is all thro' the bishoprick; yet Jews are tolerated and have their Synagogue in a Village, opposite Cologne, of which I have already spoken.

The jesuits are not permitted to stay here; but by changing their habits they do, and have their universities.

Cologne like all the other towns situated upon the Rhine, has no manufactures. The Dutch Vessels come up as far as Cologne, and are oblig'd to unload their cargoes there; and the Vessels which come from up in Germany and from Switzerland where the Rhine takes its rise cannot go with their commodities any lower than Cologne; they unload here also and change their goods for the Dutch ones which come up.

A little way up the river from Cologne is a tower, which stands upon the Rhine. They say that it was there that Julius Caesar built his bridge, a Gentleman told us that in the year 1766 when the waters of the Rhine were exceeding low the ruins of this bridge could be seen, in the winter the water rises about 8 or 10 feet commonly; but in the year 1770 it rose near 18 feet higher than they are at present.

From the Spectator. (continued from yesterday).²

¹ "Here lie the three bodies of the Holy Wise Men/From these nothing has been removed or placed elsewhere"—the implication here being that relics shown elsewhere are false.

² JQA copied on the next one and one-half pages of the Diary the fifth and sixth paragraphs of *The Spectator* No. 631 (ed. Bond, 5:157-158), originally begun on 11 July.

SATURDAY JULY THE 14TH 1781.

This morning at 6 o'clock we set off from Cologne for Coblentz where we arriv'd at about 6 o'clock P.M. As we could not get horses to go any farther, we stopp'd here, the distance is about 66. English miles. The roads this day were the best we have had since we left Utrecht. Our road, some part of the way was cut through the mountains on the banks of the Rhine; On these mountains we saw the vinyards which produce the Rhenish Wine; *Coblentz* has nothing remarkable except the citadel which is on the other side of the Rhine, and is situated upon a high Mountain; We went to see it. From the top of it you have on one side, a large extensive plane, but on the other the mountains hinder you from seeing far. Here the river Meusel [Mosel] runs into

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the Rhine, and this city is built upon the point of land which separates them.

(From the Spectator) (continued from yesterday).¹

¹ On almost one page in the Diary is the seventh paragraph of *The Spectator* No. 631 (ed. Bond, 5:158), originally begun in the Diary on 11 July.

SUNDAY JULY THE 15TH 1781.

This morning at about four o'clock we set off from Coblenz for Francfort, Where we arriv'd at 8 1/2 o'clock, the distance is 84 English Miles; All the way, the roads are mountainous till you get within about 10 Miles of Frankfort, and then you come upon a very large plain. The roads till the plain are in general very bad; but the soil is good, and cultivated in some places. On this plain we saw some fields of Indian corn, which was the best I have seen in Europe, tho by no means so large and fine as that in America.

From the Spectator (continued from yesterday).¹

¹ Here follow, on about one page in the Diary, the concluding two paragraphs from *The Spectator* No. 631 (ed. Bond, 5:158).

MONDAY JULY THE 16TH 1781.

This morning we enquired something about this city: It is situated upon the river *Meyn* and is call'd *Francfort upon the Meyn* to distinguish it from another city in Germany call'd *Francfort upon the Oder*. It is an imperial city, govern'd by its own magistrates: they Choose every year a new *burgermaster* or mayor. The dominant religion in this city is Lutheran. Catholics and Jews are tolerated, but Calvinists are not; but they go over on Sundays to a village call'd Bockenheim, (which is subject to the Prince of Hannau) where they have a Church. This city is pretty Strongly fortified, but in time of war, whenever an Army appears they throw open their gates, whether friend or Enemy, and let it pass thro.' Here the Emperor is elected and crown'd. They have no Manufactures here, but import them from all parts of Germany France, Switzerland, Italy, England and Holland. There are 600 Jew families here who live all in one street which is shut up every night, and all day on Sundays, when the gates are shut they can only come out upon occasions of necessity, but the jews can keep their shops in any part of the City.

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N. B. As I have not time for the present to copy any-thing, I shall leave it of[f] for some time.

TUESDAY JULY 17TH 1781.

Stay'd at Francfort all day, nothing remarkable happen'd.

⟨*Tuesday*⟩ WEDNESDAY ⟨17⟩¹ 18TH 1781.

This afternoon at about 4 o'clock we set of[f] from Francfort upon the Meyn for Hannau where we arrived at about 7 o'clock. It is about 12 English Miles distant from Francfort. The road for the most part is Sandy, the soil poor; about two Miles from Hannau is a Chateau belonging to the prince of Hannau. About this City are several very large fields of the same corn, we saw some days ago, but this is much better than that. *Hannau* is a small unpeopled city, it is pretty regular, but a miserable city for a capital. Almost every body is a weaver here.

¹ Apparently JQA mistook Wednesday the 18th for Tuesday the 17th and carried his error for the rest of the week.

⟨*Wednesday*⟩ THURSDAY ⟨18⟩ 19TH 1781.

This morning we set away from Hannau at 4 o'clock A.M. and arriv'd at Hunfeld (which is distant 75 Miles,) at about 8 o'clock P.M. The roads this day were for the most part mountainous but in some places there was a very good made road. The mountains in general, which we have pass'd over this day are pretty well cultivated.

⟨*Thursday*⟩ FRIDAY ⟨19⟩ 20TH 1781.

This morning we set off from Hunfeld at about 5 o'clock for Gotha where we arriv'd at about 9 o'clock P.M. It is about 66 Miles. The 2 first Posts to Vaach [Vacha] and to Bercka we had very bad roads but the rest was pretty good; Vaach belongs to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and Bercka is the first town in Saxony. Here we saw a new Married couple going about the streets with some musicians before them and I suppose half the village following them. They were dress'd in black and the bride had some large gold lace round her head. We were told that this is the third day they have been about so, and that it is generally done for a week after marriage. This they say is the custom

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throughout Saxony, in the villages. After Bercka hardly a spot of ground was uncultivated, and at that we had an exceeding fine view. We lodge out of the city, at the sign of the Negroe.

〈*Friday*〉 SATURDAY 〈*20th*〉 21ST 1781.

This morning at five o'clock we set of[f] from Gotha and arriv'd at Naumburg (distant 60 Miles) at about 6 o'clock. Pretty good roads the ground wholly cultivated; flat level country till we get about 10 Miles from Naumburg and then it begins to be a little mountainous.

SUNDAY JULY 22D 1781.

This morning at 4 o'clock we set off from Naumburg for Leipsic where we arriv'd at about 11 o'clock A.M. The distance is about 36 Miles. The first post was a little mountainous but pretty well cultivated, the last post is a large plain well cultivated also.

A German Post Mile is 6 English Miles And a German post is generally two German Miles; You pay a German Guilder per post for each horse; for a post and a half you pay a guilder and a half per horse and for two posts in proportion. A German Guilder is about 1 shilling and 10 pence Sterling. The money changes in almost every petty prince's dominions and the same silver money does not pass above 100 Engh. Miles, in general, but French Guineas or Dutch Ducats pass all over Germany. In some places Ducats are better than Louis D'ors, and in others L'D'or's are better than Ducats, but you lose something by either, in the Exchange.

WEDNESDAY JULY THE 25TH 1781.¹

On Monday at about 1 o'clock P.M. we set away from Leipsig for Berlin, Where we arriv'd this day at about 11 o'clock A.M. The distance is 120 English Miles; The soil, all the way is thin and sandy, and some part of the way foresty. We rode all night on Monday. At about half past eleven at Night, being in the middle of a Forest and the road being at the bottom of a hill, The postillon run our wheels on one side, upon the hill and there happening to be a mud puddle just there the other side sunk in, and the weight being so heavy on that side, our carriage quite

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overset with one pair of wheels under and the other pair up; but luckily none of us was much hurt. We got the carriage up (by the way of a couple of ropes fasten'd to the wheels Which the horses drew,) but found it was broke in several places, however, we got into it and continued our rout till last night at about 8 o'clock When we arriv'd at Teltow a Village about twelve Miles from Berlin; Where we stopp'd and lodg'd last night; this morning we set off from Teltow and arriv'd here, as I have already mention'd at 11 o'clock. It is the handsomest and the most regular city I ever saw; at the entrance of each Gate the houses form almost a Square; The streets in general are uniform and large. There is one street which goes from one end of the city to the other, and is three English Miles long. The city is situated upon the river Spree. Here the king has a Palace where the Royal Library once was but at present there as building on purpose for it.²

¹ Actually 23–25 July, as the entry makes clear.

² JQA undoubtedly meant that the new Royal Library was being built; Dana describes it as being nearly complete (Dana, Journal, 23 July).

THURSDAY JULY 26TH 1781.

Nothing remarkable this day.

FRIDAY JULY 27TH 1781.

This morning we went to see the kings arsenal, [...]¹

¹ The break in the present entry and the absence of all succeeding entries to that of 17 Aug., together with the opening lines of that entry, are attributable to the loss of MS p. 149–156; see note to entry of 8 July (above). The journey from Berlin to Riga can be reconstructed from Dana's Journal. They remained in Berlin until 2 Aug. On that morning they left for Danzig, traveling day and night until they reached their destination in the late afternoon of 6 Aug. They remained in Danzig until early in the morning of 9 Aug., and stayed at the Hotel D'Angleterre, which gave them a

fine vantage point to view the ancient Hanseatic city. Their next objective was Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), the capital of Prussia, where they arrived late in the afternoon of 10 Aug. They remained there a day, but set off early the following morning for Memel (now Klaipeda), traveling on a very disagreeable route along a narrow tongue of land which parallels the Baltic, until they arrived at their destination at 6 P.M. on 13 Aug. They stayed the night in Memel, but resumed their travels to Riga early the next morning.

FRIDAY AUGUST 17TH 1781.¹

[Nie]mersat² we enter'd Poland and were searched there, and about a Mile farther we enter'd into Courland which is a ⟨Prus-

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sian) Polish Province (<, *taken from Poland in the late division*). We rode in Courland till we came at about 60 English Miles from this place³ and then we enter'd Semigaul [Semigallia], which is a different Province but the same dutchy as Courland; it is call'd the dutchy of Courland and Semigaul; We pass'd Mittau, which is the capital of Courland and Semigaul yesterday afternoon at about 4 o'clock; it is but a small town, but the duke has a palace there; it is distant from Riga about 40 Engh. Miles. We cross'd, just before we enter'd the city, the river Dwina upon which Riga stands; it divides the Province of Livonia from the dutchy of Courland and Semigaul.

The country from Memel to Riga is almost all sand; tho' there is for about 40 English Miles in Courland some very fine land; there are a number of forests on the road, and there is one, which is about 50 English Miles long.

Riga is the capital of Livonia; it stands upon a(*n island*) point of land formed by the river Dwina, it is strongly fortified, and sustain'd a long siege when taken by the Russians under Prince Menzikoff, in 1710, but it is very small, not more than a mile long if it is so much. The Province of Livonia is reckon'd to be (*one of*) the most fertile Province of the North except Estonia. It was Conquer'd by Gustavus Adolphus from Russia And retaken by Peter the great from Charles the twelfth. The dominant Religion is the Lutheran; The residence of the governor is at Riga; you must get a Passport (from him,) for Post horses, otherwise you cannot get any, on the road for Petersburg.

¹ The first part of this entry is missing; see the notes to entries of 8 and 27 July (above). Had the entry survived intact it might well have covered the events of 14 – 17 Aug. since Dana recorded in his journal that after leaving Memel on the first of those days they traveled day and night until the night of the 16th.

² Niemersat, a small town northeast of Memel (Thomas Kitchin Sr. and others, *A New Universal Atlas, Exhibiting All the Empires, Kingdoms, States, Republics, &c. &c. in the Whole World*, 3d edn., London, 1799, map no. 39).

³ That is, Riga.

MONDAY AUGUST 20TH. 1781.¹

This day at about 2 o'clock P.M we left Riga, and arriv'd at a village call'd Neuermuhlen at about half past 4, here we are obliged to stop because we found all the horses were gone away; The road is sandy from Riga here, and the land bad.

August 1781

¹ JQA and Dana remained in Riga over the weekend (18–19 Aug.) in order to obtain the passport mentioned in the previous Diary entry (Dana, Journal).

FRIDAY AUGUST 24TH. 1781.

This day at about 3 o'clock P.M. we arriv'd at *Narva* after having rode night and day from Neuermuhlen Which we left the 21st at about 3 o'clock A.M. The distance from Riga here is 409 Russian Wersts¹ 7 of Which make 5 English Miles; Part of this way, the roads are very fine as is the soil but here and there you find a station of Sand. Just before you come to Nenal (a Village which is about 110 Wersts from Narva) you Come upon the Lake Peipus; we rode along the side of it about 3 English Miles and then turn'd, off; and at about 30 Wersts from Narva we came in sight of the Baltic, but did not ride along side of it.

The city of *Narva* is very small (*middlin*) pretty well fortified, there are not more than 200 hundred houses in the city, but the Suburbs Which are on the other side of the river are larger than the city itself. There are about 3000 Souls in the whole. It is the capital of Estonia, another province conquer'd by Peter the great from Sweden, and is famous for the battle fought there, in which Charles the twelfth gain'd so much glory.² It was taken by Peter in 1704: They say that this is a better port than that of Petersburg, and think that if he had been sure he should have got this Place, for he would have made Peace at first if Charles would have given him one town upon the Baltic; And even when the Peace was made They say that Peter said "that if Charles had sent him a sheet of blank paper with his name wrote at the bottom of it he should not have taken as much as his ministers had."

¹ Germanic form of the more commonly used spelling, *verst* (OED).

² The battle was fought on 30 Nov. 1700.

MONDAY AUGUST 27TH. 1781.

This day at about 10 o'clock A.M. we arriv'd at *St. Petersburg* having left Narva yesterday morning at about 9 1/2 o'clock. The roads in general are very good, the country in some part is sandy; but there it is almost all paved, the distance is about 145 Wersts.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

John Q. Adams—
Jany. 19/30th 1782

A
Journal.
at
St. Petersburg
New Stile
From the 27th. of January
1782.¹

¹ Titlepage of D/JQA/5 which covers the period 27 Jan.—23 Nov. 1782 and consists of JQA's entries for the remainder of his stay in St. Petersburg and for part of his return trip to western Europe. This Diary, the first actual blank book purchased for this purpose, measures approximately $5\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ and contains 118 pages. Presumably it was JQA who marked off in pencil margins on the top and left side of each page in order to designate months and days.

Arriving in late Aug. 1781, Dana and JQA took lodgings at the Hôtel de Paris in the heart of the Russian capital, not far from the Imperial Winter Palace. For the next fourteen months JQA served as Dana's secretary and companion and continued his studies, albeit with many difficulties (Dana to Edward Dana, 9/20 Sept. 1781, MHi:Dana Papers; Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. xiii, xvii).

One of the probable reasons why JA let Dana take his eldest son to Russia was JA's assumption, certainly shared by both JQA and Dana until shortly after their arrival, that JQA could continue his education there without complications. But it soon became apparent that "this [was] not a very good place for learning the Latin and Greek Languages," studies necessary for admission to college. There were no schools, academies, or reasonably priced masters available for him; the Russians themselves sent their children to western Europe for education. Thus, Adams was reduced to what he could find and read himself and to whatever direction Dana might provide (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:234–235, 275–278).

According to letters and his Diary, JQA

seems to have spent a large portion of the year in Russia reading English and European history by such authors as Hume, Macaulay, and Robertson. In his early months in Russia, before this Diary begins, he copied the poetry of Dryden, Pope, and Addison. Because JQA did not bring a Latin dictionary and could not find one in St. Petersburg for several months, he was unable to continue his classical studies until early 1782. Thereafter, he translated the biographical sketches of Cornelius Nepos and several of Cicero's orations, but apparently little else. The Diary indicates that he briefly took up the study of German, while his small commonplace books show that during the summer of 1782 he devoted much time to reading and copying portions of the works of minor English poets from several anthologies, including John Nichols' *A Select Collection of Poems: With Notes, Biographical and Historical*, 8 vols., London, 1780–1782 (same, 4:286–287).

Convinced for months that the sojourn had been a mistake for JQA's education (and possibly for his morals), JA finally insisted on his son's return to western Europe, where he might enroll in some regular course of study. Even though Dana wished the boy might stay, he realized that without schools, instructors, or books he could not guide his education. "Had he finished his classical studies I should meet with no difficulty in his future education," he wrote to JA only months after his arrival in St. Petersburg; "I wou'd superintend and direct that in the course you wou'd choose and point out" (same, 4:264–265, 317, 322–323; Dana to JA, 11–13 Jan. 1782, Adams Papers).

January–February 1782

N.(1782.)S. JANUARY.

27TH.

Began to read Hume's history of England.¹

¹ David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 8 vols., London, 1763, which JQA borrowed from the English or British Library of St. Petersburg, where he found "a good collection of English Au-

thors" (Dana to JA, 25 Jan., Adams Papers). JQA's notes (copied quotations) from his reading of Hume appear in M/JQA/1, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 199.

29TH.

Dined at Mr. Rimbert's;¹ changed Lodgings.

¹ Or Raimbert, French vice-consul in St. Petersburg (*Almanach royal*, 1783, p. 262).

30TH. WEDNESDAY.

Went to the Shops, bought this book,¹ with some other matters. Began to translate Cicero's first Catilinary.² Finish'd Hume's first volume of the History of England 503. Pages.

¹ That is, his Diary booklet, D/JQA/5.

² Probably the edition JQA used for his translations into French was *Selectae . . . Orationes . . .*, Paris, 1747, p. 510–525, in which JQA has inscribed "J.Q.Adams, a present from Mr. Cussy [rendered Cressy in *Catalogue of JQA's Books*, p. 90]," possibly the same man whom he mentions in his Diary on 11 March but who is otherwise unidentified. This edition of Cicero, now among JQA's books at MQA, contains

the same internal divisions of chapters and sections found in his translation of the first Catilinary in M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240. In fact, the four Catilinaries which JQA mentions in this and subsequent entries, as judged from JQA's translations, are from this printed source (p. 510–563). The pages in *Selectae . . . Orationes* bear MS markings by JQA presumably made while he was translating.

31ST. THURSDAY.

Began Hume's second volume of the History of England. Went to the shops and bought some things.

N.(1782)S. FEBRUARY

1st.

Stay'd at home all day.

2D SATURDAY.

Went to the shops, and bought some things A.M. P.M Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud¹ went to the German play, I stay'd at home.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

¹ Artaud's identity is uncertain, but in a Diary entry written seventeen years later, JQA provides a fuller account of his relationship with this man. "The Chevalier de Villenotte, told me," JQA wrote, "he had seen me at Artaud's at Petersburg in the year 1782. I had altogether forgotten it. Poor Artaud, died it seems in 1784 of a fever, caught at Peterhoff, at the annual festival there, upon St. John's day, in June. His woman then returned to Dunkirk, and afterwards went back to Petersburg, where she was taken by a Venitian minister; who upon being removed to Constantinople, carried her with him;

since which Villenotte has heard nothing of her" (JQA, Diary, 26 July 1799). JQA's and Dana's change of lodgings, mentioned in the entry for 29 Jan. (above), Artaud's daily presence thereafter, his frequent absence at dinner, and JQA's having been seen "at Artaud's" all suggest that the two Americans were probably lodging at Artaud's house. Artaud's "woman" may have been his housekeeper, who would have served them meals and would have seen to other needs. Some such role would explain why JQA gave so much space to her in his 1799 entry.

3D. SUNDAY.

Thermometer in the morning at 15 degrees cold. Fine weather. I went to take a walk with Mr. Peyron the Swedish Consul,¹ and Mr. Montréal. Went into the house where Peter the great resided; it is of wood painted in imitation of brick *<and>* is but one Story high, and has four very small rooms in it. There is a Porch since put round it to sustain it, and under the Porch is kept a barge of Peter the great's own building.² Finished Hume's 2d. Volume. 515 pages.

¹ Claës Bartholomeus von Peyron, Swedish consul at St. Petersburg, 1778-1786 (*Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 8:178).

² The first wooden cottage of Peter the Great was constructed in 1703, the year

building of the city was begun. Over it was erected a brick porch, or arcade, to preserve it from the weather on Petersburg Island in the Neva Delta (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 54).

4TH. MONDAY.

Very unwell all day, but went notwithstanding that to the English Library and took out the 3d. and 4th. Volume's of Humes history, and begun the third, but read but a few pages.

5TH. TUESDAY.

Went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things. Fine weather. The Thermometer at night was. 15 degrees below 0. which is the degree of freezing.¹ On the 20th. of December last and on the 25th. of the same month our Thermometer was at 25. below 0. and at that of the academy² it was at 28, which is colder than it has been here since the year 1776. In 1759 it was as low as 33.

February 1782

¹ The calibration is that of René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur, French physicist and naturalist. Under Réaumur's system the temperature range between freezing and boiling was divided into eighty degrees; hence -33°R. , mentioned later in the entry, would equal -42°F. , or -41°C. (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. gén-*

érale; entry for 12 Aug. 1783, below; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:287).

² The Academy of Sciences, founded by Catherine I in 1725 in accordance with a plan of Peter the Great for the promotion of literature and science (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 297-302, 313-321, 324-344).

6TH. WEDNESDAY.

Staid at Home all day. Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff the banker's.¹

¹ Member of Strahlborn and Wolff, St. Petersburg bankers, who handled financial matters for Dana in the Russian capital (Dana to Benjamin Franklin, 29 April / [10 May] 1782, and to Robert Morris, 21 Oct. / [1 Nov.] 1782, both LbC, MHi:Dana Papers).

7TH. THURSDAY.

Mr. D. very unwell all day. Mr. Artaud dined out. Finished the 3d. Volume of Hume's history. 472 pages.

8TH. FRIDAY.

Thermometer at 18 below.0. in the morning. Mr. D. Continues unwell. Stay'd at home all day as well as, Yesterday. Begun Hume's 4th. Volume, Mr. Montréal came to pay us a visit in the forenoon.

9TH.

Staid at Home all day.

10TH. SUNDAY.

Finished Hume's 4th Volume. 480 pages. Mr. Artaud dined out. Mr. Peyron Mr. Montreal and Mr. Abraham came to pay us a visit.

11TH. MONDAY.

Mr. Peyron, Mr. Montréal and several other gentlemen dined with us. I went to the English Library and took out the 5th. and 6th. Volumes of Hume's history of England, begun the fifth but read but 3 or 4 pages; went in the evening to the concert got home at about 9. o'clock.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

12TH.

Thermometer in the morning at 22 1/2 degrees below 0. Stay'd at Home all day.

13TH. WEDNESDAY.

Thermometer in the morning at 25 degrees below 0. Went in the forenoon to Mr. Rimbert's. In the afternoon, I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops, and bought some things. Thermometer at night at 26 1/2 degrees below 0. Fine clear weather all day.

14TH.

Mr. Artaud dined out. Stay'd at home all day.

15TH. FRIDAY.

Fine weather all day. Thermometer at 28 degrees below 0. At the Academy it was 30. Finished the 5th. Volume of Hume's history of England 577. pages, and begun the 6th.

16TH. SATURDAY.

Thermometer in the morning at [home] 29 academy 32 degrees below 0. Stay'd at home all day.

17TH. SUNDAY.

Mr. Montréal came in the forenoon to pay us a visit. Mr. D. went out for the first time since his sickness. Mr. Artaud dined out. Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit in the afternoon.

18TH. MONDAY.

Finished the 6th. Volume of Hume's history. 480 pages. Went to the English Library and took out the 7th. and 8th. volumes of Hume's history. Begun the 7th. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops.

19TH. TUESDAY.

Went to two booksellers shops in the forenoon for some books.¹ Mr. Artaud dined out. Fine clear weather all day.

February 1782

¹ None of JQA's extant books is inscribed with this date, though he may be referring to at least one book, Peter Rondeau [i.e., Johann Theodor Jablonsky],

Nouveau dictionnaire françois—allemand, Basel, 1739, which he records as having bought on 18 Feb. (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

20TH. WEDNESDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. Wolff came to pay a visit to Mr. D. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to a booksellers and bought Cicero's catilinaries French and Latin,¹ and to the academy to get an almanack. In the evening Mr. Rimbert came to pay Mr. D. a visit.

¹ This is undoubtedly *Phillippiques de Demosthene, et Catilinaires de Ciceron* . . ., transl. Pierre Joseph Thouliez, l'Abbé d'Olivet, Paris, 1771, now in MQA with JQA's bookplate. JQA apparently used Olivet's French translation of the Catilinaries to compare it with his own, begun on 30 Jan. (above). In a partial, undated trans-

lation of the first oration (M/JQA/44, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 239), he wrote out Olivet's translation and footnotes (from Olivet's version, p. 209–214) on even-numbered pages, writing on the odd-numbered pages a fair copy of his own French translation begun on 30 Jan. (M/JQA/45, same, Reel No. 240).

21ST. THURSDAY.

Went in the forenoon with Mr. D. to the Hotel of the Marquis de Verac,¹ the French minister here. Mr. Artaud dined out. In the afternoon Mr. D. went to take a ride. Finished the 7th. Volume of Hume's history of England. 526. pages. Cloudy weather in the morning, but in the afternoon it cleared up.

¹ Charles Olivier de Saint Georges, Marquis de Vêrac, formerly French minister to Denmark, 1775–1777, served as minister at St. Petersburg from 1780 to 1783 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, 3:133).

Dana had been instructed to consult the Marquis de Vêrac (and through him, French foreign minister Vergennes) with regard to the appropriate time to present his letters of credence to the Court of Catherine the Great. But Dana's efforts got off to a shaky start, as neither he nor Vêrac was able to communicate in each other's native tongue, and JQA was judged

by the French ambassador as having only a middling ability in the French language. Vêrac counseled Dana (and continued to advise him in the months ahead) that this was not the time to present his credentials, but this delay made Dana increasingly suspicious of French motives (David M. Griffiths, "American Commercial Diplomacy in Russia, 1780 to 1783," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 27:379–410 [July 1970]; Francis Paul Renaut, *La politique de propagande des Américains durant la guerre d'indépendance (1776–1783)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1922, 1:127, 181–183, 236–237).

22D. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Begun The 8th. Volume of Hume's history of England. Mr. D. wrote a letter to Holland.¹ In the after-

Diary of John Quincy Adams

noon he went to Mr. Wolff's. Cloudy in the morning, but clear'd up in the afternoon.

¹ Undoubtedly Dana to JA, 21 Feb., the only letter written to Holland at this time in Dana's letterbooks; the letter was sent by post on 22 Feb. (Adams Papers; MHi:Dana Papers).

23D. SATURDAY.

Finished translating the first Oration of Cicero against Catilina, and began the second.¹ In the forenoon Mr. D. went out to take a walk. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

¹ M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240. See entry for 30 Jan., note 2 (above).

24TH SUNDAY.

Finished the 8th. and last volume of Hume's history of England 327. pages. Mr. D. went to Mr Wolff's in the forenoon, and dined at Mr. Rimberts. Mr. Artaud dined out also. Mr. D. receiv'd a letter from England in the afternoon. Cloudy weather. Stay'd at Home all day.

25TH. MONDAY.

Went in the morning to the English Library and took out the three first volumes of Mrs. Macauley's History of England¹ begun the first. Went to the Hotel of the French Minister. Went to the shops with Mr. Artaud and Mr. Montréal, and to a booksellers. In the afternoon Mr. Artaud went to the concert. Cloudy weather all day, and it is so warm that it does not freeze at present.

¹ Catharine (Sawbridge) Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick line*, 8 vols., London, 1763-1783. JQA's single note (a copied passage) from Mrs. Macaulay's history is in M/JQA/1 (14/25 Feb. 1782), Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 199.

26TH. TUESDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D. went to take a walk. After dinner I went to a booksellers and bought a Latin and French Dictionary.¹ Cloudy weather.

742.6 3/1.12

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John Quincy Adams, 1779

that not this book for fear of shame
for here you see the owners name

John Quincy Adams
his book 1779

John Quincy Adams

N°

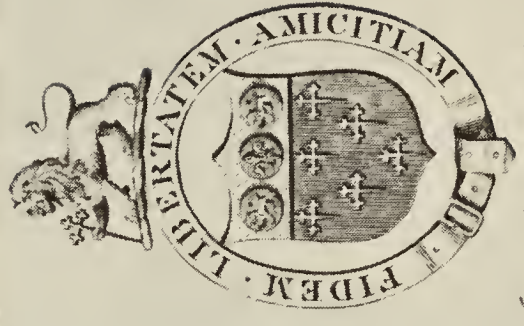
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

1782

56



John Quincy Adams.



John Quincy Adams.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

¹ This is possibly Jean Boudot, *Dictionarium Universale Latino-Gallicum*, Paris, 1774, or his third edition, Paris, 1775, both of which contain JQA's earliest bookplate, but no date of purchase. During his first month in St. Petersburg, he bought for "8

R[ubles] 50 C[opecs]" another volume which includes a Latin-French dictionary, François Antoine Pomay, *Le Grand dictionnaire royale en trois langues, savoir, la françoise, la latine et l'allemande*, 2 vols., Augsburg, 1767 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

27TH. WEDNESDAY.

Went in the forenoon with Mr. D. to a bookseller's and bought the King of Prussia's works.¹ Mr. D. went to take a walk after dinner. Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit. Mr. Artaud dined out. Cloudy weather all day.

¹ Frederick the Great, (*Oeuvres du philosophe de Sans-Souci*, 4 vols., Neuchatel, 1760, with JQA's notation: "bo't St. Petersbourg, Feby. 16/27, 1782 . . . 3 R[u]bl[es], 25 Cop[ecks]" (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

28TH. THURSDAY.

In the forenoon I received a letter from Holland, from my Father;¹ and another From America.² Mr. D went to take a ride after dinner. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather. Finished the first volume of Mrs. Macaulay's history of England 420 pages and begun the 2d.

¹ That of 5 Feb. (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:282-283), which JQA says he "receiv'd three days ago" (JQA to JA, 4 March, same, p. 286-287).

² The only possibility, from evidence in

surviving letters, is Elizabeth Cranch to JQA, May 1781 (same, p. 146-148), which JQA states he received "some days ago" in his reply to her of 17 March (same, p. 297).

N.(1782)S. MARCH.

1ST. FRIDAY.

Mr. D went to take a walk in the forenoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

2D. SATURDAY.

In the Forenoon Mr. Wolff came to pay a visit to Mr. D. Went to a bookseller's for a book for Mr. D. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops, and bought some things. Cloudy weather.

February—March 1782

3D. SUNDAY.

Several persons dined and supped here this day. Mr. D. receiv'd some letters from America. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

4TH. MONDAY.

A French Gentleman dined with us this day. I wrote a letter to my Father.¹ Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather. Finished Mrs. Macaulay's second volume 498. pages: and begun the third. Mr. Artaud went to the concert in the evening.

¹ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:286–287.

5TH. TUESDAY.

Went to Mr. Wolff's and to Mr. Rimbert's in the afternoon to carry letters to be sent to Holland.¹ Mr. D. went after dinner to take a walk. Cloudy weather.

¹ In addition to his own letter of the 4th to his father, JQA probably carried Dana's to JA of the same date (Adams Papers).

6TH. WEDNESDAY.

Went in the forenoon with Mr. Artaud to take a walk. Mr. D stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather in the morning, and snow in the afternoon.

7TH. THURSDAY.

This morning Mr. D. went with Mr. Artaud to get some maps at the Academy. I went to a bookseller's and bought *Manstein's Memoir's upon Russia*, and *Anecdotes du Nord*.¹ Mr. Artaud dined and supped out. Clear weather.

¹ Christoph Hermann von Manstein, *Memoires historiques sur la Russie depuis 1727 jusqu'à 1744*, Paris, 1771, with JQA's notation: "bo't at St. Petersbourg, March 7th., 1782, No. 20"; Pierre Antoine de La Place and others, *Anecdotes du Nord, la*

Suede le Danemarck, etc., Paris, 1770, with notation: "bo't at St. Petersbourg, March 7, 1782. No. 21. R[u]ble 1 Cop[ecks] 50" (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*). The book numbers refer to JQA's book purchases in St. Petersburg.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

8TH. FRIDAY.

In the forenoon I went to the English Library for some books but the keeper was not at Home. Finished the third volume of Mrs. Macaulay's history of England. 443 pages.

9TH. SATURDAY.

Finished the second oration of Cicero against Catilina.

In the morning about ten o'clock Mr. D. Mr. Artaud and myself went to Mr. Rimbert's, where we breakfasted; and then The Swedish Consul and his Lady and two of Mr. Rimbert's Nephews, and another Gentleman and [the rest of us] set off in three slays for Cronstadt.¹ We left the city at 10 o'clock and 40 minutes and arrived at Cronstadt at 12 o'clock and 35 minutes. The distance is 28 wersts which is 20 English miles.² We went to see the port of Cronstadt before dinner; after dinner we went to drink tea at a gentleman's house. We then went to take a walk, and then left Cronstadt at five minutes past five for Oranienbaum³ where we arrived at six o'clock wanting twenty minutes. The distance is 7 wersts or five English miles. We found at Oranienbaum Madam Peyron's brother.⁴

¹ Evidently the party was still able to cross safely the ice-bound Kronstadt Bay, from St. Petersburg to Kotlin Island. The port of Kronstadt remained blocked by ice for about five months each year, and the first vessels did not arrive there in 1782 until 24 May, according to JQA's Diary.

² In the margin: "N.B. (9) 7 wersts make 5 english Miles."

³ Oranienbaum, a country palace, built in 1714 by Prince Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov, on the Gulf of Finland facing Kronstadt (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 67-70).

⁴ Probably a Mr. van Brien, brother of Magdalena Peyron, the consul's wife, and son of a Dutch merchant in Archangel (*Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 8:178).

10TH. SUNDAY.

This morning we went to see the palace at Oranienbaum, and then dined and after dinner set off in our slays from Oranienbaum for Peterhoff at five minutes past two o'clock, and arrived there, at three o'clock wanting twenty minutes the distance being 9 wersts. We came from Oranienbaum to Peterhoff on the land whereas yesterday we were upon the Gulph of Cronstadt. We saw the palace of Peterhoff and then set out for St. Petersburg upon the Gulph, and arrived there in one hour and three quarters, (from 10 minutes before 4. to 35 past five[]) the distance is 27. wersts which is about 19 3/4 English Miles. We stopp'd

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some time at Mr. Rimberts and then Mr. D. Mr. Artaud and myself return'd home.

11TH. MONDAY.

This day Mr. Blondot and Mr. Cussy dined here, after dinner I went with Mr. Artaud to the Concert. Went after the concert was over, and supped at Mr. Rimbert's. Mr. D. receiv'd this day a letter from Holland¹ inclosing some from America.

¹ Thaxter to Dana, 15 Feb. (MHi:Dana Papers).

12TH. TUESDAY.

In the afternoon I went to take a ride with Mr. D. Begun the third Oration of Cicero against Catiline.¹ Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit in the evening. Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Cloudy weather.

¹ M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240.

13TH. WEDNESDAY.

In the forenoon I went to the English Library and took out the 4th and 5th volumes of Mrs. Macaulay's history of England and the first volume of Robertson's history of Charles the 5th.¹ Begun Mrs. Macaulay's 4th. volume. After dinner I went to a bookseller's and bought some books. Cloudy weather.

¹ William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. . . .*, 3 vols., London, 1769.

14TH. THURSDAY.

This morning when we got up we found our Thermometer stolen. In the forenoon Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud went to take a ride; we dined at Mr. Rimbert's; Mr. Artaud supp'd out. In the evening Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit.

15TH. FRIDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud to take a walk. After dinner I went in a Slay with Mr. Artaud to a place called Crasna-Kabak at about eleven wersts or eight English Miles from the city, and drank coffeé there. In the evening I

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went to carry a letter for Mr. D. to Mr. Rimbert's. to be sent to Holland.¹ Mr. Artaud supped out.

¹ Dana to JA, 4 March O.S. (Adams Papers).

16TH. SATURDAY.

This morning I went to the Academy and bought some almanacks. After dinner I went with Mr. Artaud to the Post office to subscribe for the French Amsterdam Gazette. We went after that to the Club,¹ and return'd home at about nine o'clock. Clear weather.

¹ Most likely the English Club, described by Henry Storch as containing about three hundred members and requiring 40 rubles for admission and 20 more for the annual subscription. The Club had newspapers and journals available as well as a "small but choice collection of books" (*Picture of Petersburg*, p. 424-425).

17TH. SUNDAY.

This morning Mr. Peyron and two of Mr. Rimbert's Nephews came to pay us a visit. Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff's. We dined with Mr. Rimbert, Mr. Peyron and several other gentlemen, at Mr. Colombi's. Wrote a letter for America.¹

¹ To Elizabeth Cranch (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:297-299).

18TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Academy and bought a Russian and French Grammar. Wrote a letter to Mr. Thaxter.¹ Went to carry out letters to Mr. Felleisen. Mr. D. dined at Mr. Wolff's. After dinner Mr. D. Mr. Artaud and myself went to the concert. We returned at about 9 o'clock.

¹ Same, p. 299-300.

19TH. TUESDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D went to take a walk. After dinner he went with Mr. Artaud to the shops. Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit.

20TH. WEDNESDAY.

This morning Mr. D and Mr. Artaud went to take a ride, in the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to take a ride in a slay. In the evening, news came of Port Mahon's being taken. Fine weather.

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21ST. THURSDAY.

This morning our German master¹ came to give us a lesson for the first time; Mr. Rimbert came to pay a visit to Mr. D. Dined at Mr. Rimbert's with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud. After dinner we went to see Mr. Colombi. Mr. Artaud supped out.

¹ The extent of JQA's German language instruction while he lived in St. Petersburg was limited, and the name of his master is unknown. Believing that JA would prefer that JQA learn German rather than Russian, Dana hired an instructor who gave young Adams three lessons a week at about a guinea a month (Dana to JA, 28 March O.S., Adams Papers; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:302-303). As later Diary entries indicate, JQA did not long pursue this study, although sixteen years later,

while serving as minister to Berlin, he again "began an attempt to acquire the practice of reading German" (JQA, Diary, 12 March 1798). He soon obtained a mastery of the language. The only remnant of JQA's early German education, completed on 17/28 Aug. 1782, is a transcription, in German script, of Ludwig Holberg's play, *Der Geschwätzige Barbierer* (*The Talkative Barber*), M/JQA/25, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 220.

22D. FRIDAY.

This morning I went to the English Library, and brought [home] The second volume of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.¹ Mr. Blondot came in the forenoon to pay us a visit. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things.

¹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols., London, 1776.

23D. SATURDAY.

This day Mr. Blondot dined with us. In the afternoon Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit. Stay'd at Home all day. Our German master gave us the second lesson. He comes every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Fine weather.

24TH. SUNDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined and supped out. Stay'd at home all day. Snowy and rainy weather. Mr. D. receiv'd a letter from Holland.¹

¹ Letter unidentified, but apparently not from either JA or John Thaxter.

25TH. MONDAY.

Finished the 4th. volume of Mrs. Macaulay's history of England. 409 p. Mr. Colombi came to pay us a visit. In the evening Mr. Artaud went to the concert.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

26TH. TUESDAY.

Begun the fifth volume of Mrs. Macaulay's history. Finished the third oration of Cicero against Catiline. Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Our German master gave us a lesson.

27TH. WEDNESDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. D. to the house of the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*.¹ Mr. D went to take a ride with Mr. Artaud. In the afternoon they went to the shops together. In the afternoon I went to take a walk. Begun the fourth Catilinary of Cicero.² Fine weather.

¹ Pedro Normande, Spanish *chargé d'affaires* to Russia, 1776–1777, 1778–1782, minister ad interim to Russia, 1784–1788, and later envoy to Poland and Den-

mark (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 440, 438, 429).

² M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240.

28TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Gonset came to pay us a visit. Mr. D. went in the afternoon to Mr. Wolff's. Mr. Artaud dined out. Stay'd at home all day. Fine, Clear weather.

29TH. FRIDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things. We went to the Academy for some Maps but found it shut up, and to Mr. Rimbert's for the Newspapers. In the afternoon I went and took a walk with Mr. D. Mr. Artaud supped out. Fine clear weather. Thermometer above 0.

30TH. SATURDAY.

Mr. Rimbert, Mr. Peyron and his Lady, Mr. Abraham, Mr. Rosat, and the youngest Mr. Montréal dined with us this day: Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Fine weather. Stay'd at home all day. Finished the 5th. and last volume¹ of Mrs. Macaulay's history of England 470. pages.

¹ Three additional volumes of her *History of England* were published between 1781 and 1783 (*DNB*).

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31ST. SUNDAY.

Wrote a letter to my Father.¹ Mr. Artaud dined and Supped out. Fine weather. Thermometer at 9 degrees above.o. Stay'd at home all day.

¹ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:302–303.

N.(1782)S. APRIL.

1ST. MONDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Begun to read Robertson's history of Charles the 5th.¹ Mr. Artaud supped out. Weather Cloudy in the morning and Clear in the afternoon. Thermometer at 9 degrees above.o.

¹ JQA's notes (copied passages) from Robertson appear in M/JQA/1 (10/21, 11/22 April), Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 199.

2D. TUESDAY.

This day Mr. D. went to carry our letters to be sent to the post office. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather. Thaws fast.

3D. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon I took a walk to the academy with Mr. Artaud and bought some maps. Mr. Artaud dined out. In the afternoon Mr. D went to take a walk. Fine weather. Thaw.

4TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Gonset came to pay us a visit. Mr. D and Mr. Artaud went to the shops, and bought some things. Mr. Artaud dined out. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops and bought some things. Fine weather.

5TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went to take a ride. I went with Mr. Artaud and took a long walk upon the key.¹ In the afternoon I went to the shops with Mr. Artaud. And I carried my watch to the watch maker's, to be mended. Clear weather.

¹ That is, quay.

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6TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went to take a ride, in the afternoon, I went and took a walk upon the quay. I Met Mr. Peyron there. Fine, clear weather.

7TH. SUNDAY.

Esther day a great holiday for the Russians. They present eggs, this day. Mr. Artaud dined out, in the forenoon. In the afternoon I went and took a walk upon the quay. Very Fine weather. Finished the first volume of Robertson's history of Charles V. 394 pages.

8TH. MONDAY.

Finished the fourth and last Catilinary of Cicero. In the forenoon I went to the English Library and took out the second and third Volumes of Robertson's history of Charles. V. Begun the 2d. Mr. Peyron came to pay Mr. D. a visit. Mr. D. receiv'd a letter from Holland from my Father.¹ Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimberts. In the afternoon I went to take a walk upon the quay. Mr. D. wrote a letter to my Father.² Very fine weather.

¹ That of 15 March (MHi:Dana Papers).

² That of 28 March O.S. (Adams Papers).

9TH. TUESDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D. to the French minister's hotel. Mr. Normandes the Spanish Chargé d'affaires came to pay a visit to Mr. D. In the afternoon I went to the Shops with Mr. Artaud, but found them all shut-up because of the Esther holidays. We went to see some of their diversions. We went also to Mr. Rimbert's, to see how Mr. Montreal does. Mr. D. went to carry his letter to be sent.

10TH. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things. Before dinner we went and took a walk upon the quay. In the afternoon we took another walk, and went to Mr. Rimbert's. Fine weather. It thaws fast still.

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11TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops. Dined at Mr. Rimberts. Mr. Colombi dined there also. Borrowed of Mr. Peyron the first volume of Dryden's Virgil.¹ In the afternoon we went to see the *Katchells*.² Mr. Artaud supped out.

¹ *The Works of Virgil: Containing His Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse; by Mr. Dryden*, London, 1697. Later editions contained 3 volumes.

² JQA may be referring to the Kamchadals, natives of the Kamchatka Peninsula

on the Russian Pacific coast, who were the source of comment by other foreign observers (*John Ledyard's Journey Through Russia and Siberia, 1787-1788*, ed. Stephen D. Watrous, Madison, 1966, p. 54-56).

12TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went in the forenoon to take a ride. Cloudy weather. Begun Cicero's Oration for Archias.¹

¹ JQA's French translation is in M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240. Some evidence in the translation suggests that he probably used as his Latin source *Oraisons choisies de Cicéron, traduction revue par M. de Wailly*, 3 vols., Paris, 1772-1778, 2:178-207, which

he had purchased in St. Petersburg on 26 Feb. (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*), although several MS markings in another edition of the oration, *Selectae . . . Orationes*, Paris, 1747 (same), indicate that he may have consulted it as well.

13TH. SATURDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined out. Mr. D. went to take a ride in the afternoon. Finished the 2d. Volume of Robertson's history of Charles 5th. 479. pages, and begun the third. Cloudy weather, and Rain.

14TH. SUNDAY.

This day the Marquis de Verac the french minister here gave a mascarade ball and supper for the birth of the Dauphin.¹ Mr. D. went there. Mr. Artaud dined and supped out. Stay'd at home all day.

¹ Louis Joseph Xavier François (1781-1789), eldest son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

15TH. MONDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went to take a ride. Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy, rainy, weather.



6. VIEWS OF ST. PETERSBURG
See pages xi-xii



Diary of John Quincy Adams

16TH. TUESDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things. Mr. D. went to take a walk. Went to Mr. Rimberts for the Gazette.¹ Mr. Artaud dined and supped out.

¹ Undoubtedly the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (see entry for 16 March, above; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:302).

17TH. WEDNESDAY.

This morning before breakfast I went and took a walk upon the quay of the river. The Swedish consul and his lady, Mr. Rimbert, his youngest nephew, Mr. Abraham Mr. Colombi, and Mr. Gonset dined with us. In the afternoon Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud went to take a walk. Fine weather.

18TH. THURSDAY.

This day at about 7. o clock P.M. the river broke up, and The major of the fortress passed it in a boat descended at the Palace, and announced it to the Empress, for which he receives a present of 500 Roubles pr. year. Dined at Mr. Rimberts. In the forenoon the Swedish consul came to see us. Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Fine Weather but, a high wind.

19TH. FRIDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D went to take a ride, and after dinner he took a walk. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather. Mr. Artaud supp'd out.

20TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D. to the Hotel of the Dutch Resident Mr. de Swart.¹ In the afternoon Mr. D. took a walk. Finished the third and last volume of Robertson's history of Charles. 5th. Fine weather.

¹ Johan Isaac de Swart, Dutch resident to St. Petersburg, 1773-1794 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 268).

21ST. SUNDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to take a ride, we went into the Catholic church. We [met] there, Mr. Rimbert's two

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youngest nephews; before dinner I went and took a walk upon the quay with Mr. Artaud. Mr. D went to Mr. Wolff's. Fine weather A.M. Snow. P.M.

22D. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the English Library and took out Watson's history of Phillip the second and the life of Garrick.¹ We went to the shops. In the afternoon we went and bought a pair of buckles for me. Went to Mr. Rimbert's for the Gazette but it was not there. Mr. Artaud went in the evening to the concert. Snowy weather all day. Begun Vol. 1. of the history of Phillip II.

¹ Robert Watson, *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*, 2 vols., London, 1777; Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick . . .*, London, 1780.

23. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. wrote a letter to my Father in Holland.¹ Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Cloudy weather.

¹ That of 23 April (Adams Papers).

24TH. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimbert's, Mr. Abraham's and Mr. Colombi's. In the afternoon Mr. D. took a ride.

25TH. THURSDAY.

Went with Mr. Artaud in the forenoon to the shops and bought some things. Dined at Mr. Rimberts; where Mr. Abraham dined also. Mr. Artaud went in the evening to the Clubb. Windy weather.

26TH. FRIDAY.

In the forenoon I went to take a ride with Mr. Artaud. In the afternoon Mr. D. went to take a walk. I went to the post office to see about some newspapers.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

27TH. SATURDAY.

This morning I went to take a walk upon the quay with Mr. Artaud. In the afternoon I went to the shops and bought some things. Mr. Wolff came to pay Mr. D a visit A.M. Mr. D. went and took a ride after dinner. Mr. Hoogwerst paid us a visit. Fine weather, but windy.

28TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D. to the Hotel of the Marquis de Verac, and from thence to that of the dutch Ambassador¹ with the Marquis, but he was not at home; dined at the Marquis de Verac's: Mr. Artaud supped out. Fine weather.

¹ Willem Lodewijk (Baron) van Wassenaer Starrenburg, minister plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg, 1780-1785 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 268).

29TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went and took a walk with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimbert's. After dinner the youngest Mr. Montréal came here and I went with him and Mr. Artaud to the shops. In the afternoon Mr. D took a ride. In the evening Mr. Artaud went to the Concert.

30TH. TUESDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Post office to see about the news papers. Went to take a walk. Mr. D took a ride. Fine weather.

N.(1782)S. MAY.

1ST. WEDNESDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. Artaud and Mr. D. went and took a walk upon the Neva. After dinner the youngest Mr. Montréal came here, and I went with him and Mr. Artaud to the Shops. Mr. D went and took a ride. Fine weather.

2D. THURSDAY.

This day, which according to the Russian stile is the 21st. of April, is the Anniversary of her Majesty's birth. Went with Mr.

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D. to the Marquis de Verac's and from thence to the Dutch Ambassador's. In the afternoon Mr. Peyron and the youngest Mr. Montréal came here. Snowy weather.

3D. FRIDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D went and took a walk. After dinner Mr. Colombi came to see us. I went to the postoffice with Mr. Artaud. Windy weather. Finished the first volume of Watson's history of Phillip the II. 443 p: and begun the 2d.

4TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon I went and took a walk upon the quay with Mr. Artaud. In the afternoon the youngest Mr. Montréal came here and went with Mr. Artaud and myself to the Shops. Fine weather.

5TH. SUNDAY.

Dined at Mr. Rimberts: Mr. D received a letter from Holland.¹ Took a ride in the afternoon.

¹ Possibly JQA is referring to a letter from Thaxter of 9 April, received by Dana on 2 May (MHi:Dana Papers).

6TH. MONDAY.

Went in the forenoon and took a walk upon the quay, went in the evening to the concert; with Mr. Artaud. Clear, Windy Weather.

7TH. TUESDAY.

In the forenoon I took a walk with Mr. Artaud upon the quay. Mr. D. went and took a ride. Cloudy, windy weather.

8TH. WEDNESDAY.

Mr. Artaud went out on hunting. Mr. D. went in the forenoon and took a ride. In the afternoon went to Mr. Colombi's but found he was not at home. Took a walk upon the quay. Fine clear weather.

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9TH. THURSDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. In the afternoon he came with two of Mr. Rimbert's nephews and we went to the shops. Took a ride. Mr. Hoogwerst came and made us a visit. He told us that the States General of the United Provinces had on the 19th. of April *<declared>* acknowledged America, independant.¹ Fine clear weather.

¹ For a discussion of JA's long and persistent efforts to achieve Dutch recognition, see *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:3-5. JA's own account of events just before and

immediately following the recognition appears in *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:312-313.

10TH. FRIDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. D. to the Dutch Ambassador's and to the Resident's.¹ Went and took a walk upon the quay with Mr. Artaud. Mr. D. spent the evening out. Clear weather.

¹ Dutch recognition of American independence brought closer diplomatic ties between the isolated Dana and Dutch representatives at St. Petersburg. Dana wrote to JA on this day: "The Dutch Resident made a visit yesterday to give me the news. I have visited [him] today. . . . The

Ambassador this week, returned a visit I had made him [on 2 May, see entry, above] in consequence of an intimation he had given that it wou'd be agreeable to him. I have visited him again to day on this occasion" (29 April O.S., Adams Papers).

11TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Wolff came to see Mr. D. Mr. D. went and took a walk upon the quay. Stay'd at home all day. Fine clear weather.

12TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Peyron came to see us. Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff's. Mr. Colombi came here. Dined at Mr. Rimbert's. After dinner we went and took a ride to Catharinen hoff.¹ This is the same holiday here, as long-champs at Paris.²

¹ Catarinenhoff or Katarinenhof, a palace, located south and west of St. Petersburg on the Gulf of Finland, built in 1703 by Peter the Great and named after his wife the Empress Catherine I (John Parkinson, *A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea, 1792-1794*, ed. William Collier, London, 1971, p. 244; Storch, *Picture of Pe-*

tersburg, p. xv).

² The annual procession of carriages through the Bois de Boulogne on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before Easter, which allowed Parisians to show off their carriages, horses, and of course themselves; see entry for 25 March 1785 (below).

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13TH. MONDAY.

Mr. D went out in the forenoon. Took a walk with Mr. Artaud in the forenoon upon the quay. Mr. D. dined at Mr. Wolff's; went with Mr. Artaud to the concert. Thermometer 10. degrees above 0.

14TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Very high wind. Mr. D went out in the forenoon and in the afternoon. Mr. Artaud went out in the evening. Thermometer 10. degrees above 0.

15TH. WEDNESDAY.

Went and took a walk with Mr. Artaud in the Jardin d'été.¹ Spent the evening and supp'd at Mr. Rimbert's. Fine weather. Thermometer 16. degrees above 0. Took off our double windows.

¹ A public garden located on the banks of the Neva and originally part of Peter the Great's summer palace (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 40-41).

16TH. THURSDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Artaud went on hunting. In the forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk; and in the afternoon to Mr. Wolff's. Thermometer 19 degrees. heat. Thunder shower in the afternoon. Cleared up afterwards.

17TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the forenoon Dr. Blondot came and took his leave of us, going for Moskow. Mr. D took a walk in the forenoon. Clear in the forenoon, but Rain after dinner.

18TH. SATURDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Cloudy weather. Thermometer 20 degrees above 0. Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Wolff came to see Mr. D.

19TH. SUNDAY.

This day Mr. Artaud went on hunting. In the afternoon Mr. D. took a ride out of town. Cloudy, rainy weather.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

20TH. MONDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went out in the forenoon. Cloudy weather.

21ST. TUESDAY.

In the afternoon Mr. D went and took a ride. Took a very long walk out of town with Mr. Artaud. Left him at the Clubb. Changing weather. Mr. Hoogwerst came and paid us a visit in the afternoon.

22D. WEDNESDAY.

This day a french Gentleman dined with us. Mr. D went and took a walk in the forenoon. Mr. Artaud went in the afternoon to the Clubb. Cloudy weather.

23D. THURSDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. D. Mr. Artaud and several other gentlemen to see her Majesty's cabinet of paintings in the Palace. Mr. D and Mr. Artaud took a walk upon the quay. Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. Cloudy weather.

24TH. FRIDAY.

This day a French Gentleman dined with us. Mr. D took a ride in the afternoon. Mr. Artaud went to the Clubb. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather. First vessels arrived, at Cronstadt.

25TH. SATURDAY.

Mr. D took a ride in the forenoon. Finished the second and last volume of Watson's history of Phillip the II. 437. pages. Cloudy weather.

26TH. SUNDAY.

Mr. D. unwell. Pentecost day. Mr. Artaud went out in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather in the forenoon but clear'd up after dinner.

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27TH. MONDAY.

Mr. Artaud went into the country. The Dutch resident came to see Mr. D. Mr. D. went and took a walk in the forenoon. Mr. Rimbert came here. This day the Wooden shops caught fire, and were all burnt to the ground. Mr. D took a ride in the afternoon. Clear in the morning, but cloudy in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day.

28TH. TUESDAY.

Mr. D went and took a ride in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy, weather, some rain.

29TH. WEDNESDAY.

In the afternoon Mr. D. took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Very windy weather.

30TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon I went to the shops with Mr. Artaud and bought some things. Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimberts. In the afternoon Mr. Hoogwerst came to see us. Pretty good weather.

31ST. FRIDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud went to the shops. After dinner Mr. D went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Fine clear weather. Finish'd Ciceros Oration pro Lege Manilia.¹

¹ JQA's French translation here and that mentioned in the next entry are in M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240. His Latin source was probably the de Wailly edition, 2:2-67, and 3:2-113, respectively. See entry for 12 April (above).

N.(1782)S. JUNE

1ST. SATURDAY.

Dined with Mr. Colombi. In the afternoon went and took a walk in the *jardin d'été*. Begun Cicero's oration *pro Milone*. Fine weather.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

2D. SUNDAY.

Mr. Artaud out all day. In the afternoon the youngest Mr. Montréal came here, went and took a walk in the *Jardin d'été*, where I found Mr. Gonset, very fine weather.

3D. MONDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined out. Stay'd at home all day. Rainy weather.

4TH. TUESDAY.

This day several Gentlemen dined here. Mr. D walk'd out in the forenoon and went in the afternoon with Mr. Artaud to the *Jardin d'été*. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

5TH. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk in the garden. After dinner I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops. We took a ride out of town. Went to Mr. Rimberts took a walk to the garden. Mr. Artaud supp'd out. Fine weather.

6TH. THURSDAY.

Mrs. Peyron was brought to bed of a girl this day. Mr. D. took a walk before dinner. Mr. Montréal dined here. After dinner I went and took a walk in the garden. Fine weather. Mr. Hoogwerst came to see us in the evening.

7TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D went and took a walk to the garden. Mr. Artaud dined out. In the afternoon I walked. Good weather.

8TH. SATURDAY.

Went in the forenoon and took a walk. Mr. D. went out in the afternoon. Went and walked in the garden in the evening. Fine weather.

9TH. SUNDAY.

This day Mr. Artaud went into the country. Mr. D. went to the French Minister's Hotel in the forenoon. After dinner he

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went and took a ride. Walk'd in the garden in the evening. Fine weather.

10TH. MONDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk. In the afternoon he rode out. Went to the concert in the evening with Mr. Artaud. Fine weather.

11TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D walk'd out in the forenoon, and took a ride in the afternoon. Mr. Artaud supped out. Cloudy weather.

12TH. WEDNESDAY.

Receiv'd the news of a battle between the french and English fleets in the West Indies.¹ Went to the shops with Mr. Artaud before dinner. Went in the evening with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud to the concert. After the concert we walked in the garden. Cloudy weather.

¹ The battle off Les Saintes, a small group of islands between Guadeloupe and Dominica, which took place 9-12 April 1782 and set Adm. Rodney's fleet against that of Grasse, who was defeated (Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence*, Boston, 1913, p. 206-226).

13TH. THURSDAY.

Went in the afternoon and took a walk in the garden. Mr. Hoogwerst came to see us. Clear weather.

14TH. FRIDAY.

Mr. D. went and took a ride in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

15TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk. In the afternoon he rode out. Walked in the garden in the evening. Cloudy weather.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

16TH. SUNDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Very bad weather. Strong wind, and rain.

17TH. MONDAY.

In the afternoon I went and took a ride with Mr. D. Rainy weather all day.

18TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Rainy weather. Mr. D. went and took a walk in the afternoon.

19TH. WEDNESDAY.

Went to the English library for books. Mr. Montréal dined with us. Rainy Weather.

20TH. THURSDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. Mr. D. went and took a walk in the forenoon, and went to Mr. Wolff's after dinner. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

21ST. FRIDAY.

Mr. D. took a ride in the afternoon. Mr. Artaud and I, went and took a walk to a gentleman's country seat at about 6. wersts from the town, where we supp'd. We got back at about 12. o'clock at night. Fine weather. This day the sun rose at 45 minutes past two o'clock, and set at 15 minutes past nine. At midnight it is but very little darker than at noon.

22D. SATURDAY.

This forenoon I went and took a walk with Mr. Artaud in the garden. Mr. Wolff came and paid a visit to Mr. D. After dinner, I took a ride with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud to Caminostrow which is an Island near Petersbourg, which belongs to the Grand-Duke.¹ We went and saw the Botanical garden.

¹ Grand Duke Paul (1754–1801), later Paul I, who succeeded his mother, Catherine II, to the throne in 1796 and was assassinated five years later (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

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23D. SUNDAY.

In the afternoon went with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud; to a Garden about 6 wersts out of town, called *Jardin de Narischkin* belonging to a nobleman of that name, who keeps it open to the publick.¹ Went afterwards to a country seat belonging to a gentleman here.

¹ Henry Storch portrayed a visit to the Narischkin garden as a popular Sunday pastime of the "higher classes": "A friendly invitation, in four different languages, inscribed over the entrance to the grounds, authorizes every one of decent appearance and behaviour, to amuse himself there in whatever way he pleases without fear of molestation. In several pavilions are musicians for the benefit of those who chuse to dance; in others are chairs and sophas, ready for the reception of any party who wish to recreate themselves by sedate conversation after roaming about with the great throng; some parties take to the swings, the bowling-green

and other diversions; on the canals and lakes are gondolas, some constructed for rowing, others for sailing; and, if all this be not enough, refreshments are spread on tables in particular alcoves, or are handed about by servants in livery. This noble hospitality is by no means unenjoyed; the concourse of persons of all descriptions, from the star and ribband to the plain well-dressed burgher, forms such a party-coloured collection and sometimes groupes are so humourously contrasted, that for this reason alone it is well worth the pains of partaking once in the amusement" (*Picture of Petersburg*, p. 440-441).

MONDAY. 24TH.

This morning I went to the English library and took out Foote's plays¹ and two volumes of the English Theatre.² Mr. D. went out in the afternoon. I took a walk with him in the Summer Garden in the evening. Fine weather.

¹ Samuel Foote, *Dramatic Works*, 4 vols., London, 1778.

² *The English Theatre, Containing the Most Valuable Plays Which Have Been Acted on the London Stage*, 8 vols., London, 1762.

25TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Artaud dined out. Mr. D. took a walk in the afternoon. Stormy weather the fore part of the day.

26TH. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride.

27TH. THURSDAY.

Dined this day at Mr. Rimbert's with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud. Rainy weather.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

28TH. FRIDAY.

This day I went with Mr. Artaud and Mr. D. to the Comedy at the Court. We had the *Misanthrope* with a ballet. Mr. Artaud went afterwards to Mr. Rimbert's. Went and took a walk with Mr. D. in the summer garden. Cloudy weather in the morning, but cleared up at about noon. Mr. D received a letter from Holland.¹

¹ Letter unidentified, but apparently not from either JA or Thaxter.

29TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Mr. Hoogwerst came and paid us a visit.¹ After supper Mr. Peyron came here with Mr. Montréal. Good weather.

¹ Terminal punctuation supplied.

30TH. SUNDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D went to Mr. Wolff's. In the afternoon I went and took a ride with him. Fine weather.¹

¹ In the margin: "Mrs. B. brought to bed."

N(1782)S. JULY.

1ST. MONDAY.

This morning I went to the English Library and took out 1. volume of the preceptor, and thrée of *Clarissa*.¹ Rained all the afternoon.

¹ Robert Dodsley, *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education. Wherein the First Principles of Polite Learning are Laid Down . . . for . . . the Instruction of Youth . . .*, 2 vols., London, 1748; and Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa; Or, The History of a Young Lady . . .*, 8 vols., London, 1747-1748.

2D. TUESDAY.

In the afternoon went with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimbert's and to the Shops. Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff's. Variable weather.

3D. WEDNESDAY.

This afternoon I went and took a ride with Mr. D. to Caminstrow. Fine weather.

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4TH. THURSDAY.

Dined this day with Mr. D. at the Dutch Ambassador's; went in the evening to the German Comedy. We had a Tragedy call'd Demetrius Ivanowitsch Czar of Muscovy,¹ a new piece play'd here for the first time: this evening.

¹ A play by August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, which was written in St. Petersburg in 1782. Kotzebue was serving as secretary to Baron Friederich Wilhelm Bawr, governor general of St. Petersburg, and helped in the management of the German theater in the Russian capital. The play, which had difficulty passing the censors, was the first German one on the theme of Demetrius, a popular subject of 19th-century German playwrights, and was quite unrepresentative of later treat-

ments. The play depicts Demetrius, third son of Ivan the Terrible, as escaping Boris Godunov's assassins and recovering the throne by his noble instincts and good deeds after Godunov's death in 1605. Historically, Demetrius either was killed or stabbed himself to death while in an epileptic fit in 1591 (Erwin C. Brody, *The Demetrius Legend and Its Literary Treatment in the Age of the Baroque*, Rutherford, N.J., 1972, p. 220, 9; Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

5TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. walk'd out in the forenoon. Changeable weather.

6TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. Wolff came here in the forenoon. Mr. D. went and took a walk in the afternoon.

7TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon I went and took a walk with Mr. Artaud. Went to the summer garden; where we saw her Majesty. In the afternoon went to see a 64 Gun ship launched. Went afterwards and took a ride to Catherinen hoff and then walked again in the summer garden. Changeable weather.

8TH. MONDAY.

Took a walk this morning with Mr. Artaud in to the Country, and Stay'd there all day. We returned at about 12 o'clock at night. Pretty good weather. Anniversary of the battle of Pultawa¹—Russian Holiday.

¹ Poltava or Pultava, the Ukranian city which was the scene of Peter the Great's final and decisive victory over Charles XII of Sweden on 8 July 1709 (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

9TH. TUESDAY.

Went in the afternoon to Mr. Rimberts with Mr. Artaud to borrow Domino's¹ for the mascarade of tomorrow. Went to the shops. Anniversary of her Majesty's coming to the Throne.

¹ A domino is a loose cloak with attached half-mask worn by those at masquerades who chose not to go as particular characters. The word sometimes signifies only the mask itself (OED).

10TH. WEDNESDAY.

St. Peter and St. Paul's day. Grand Duke's *fête*. Mascarade ball and illumination at Peterhoff.¹ At about 1. o'clock P.M. set out for that place with Mr. Artaud and Mr. D. and arriv'd there at about half past 5. Walk'd in the Garden till seven, and then went to the ball.

¹ On this day, according to Henry Storch, "every being susceptible of pleasure left the town," to go to Peterhof, the imperial palace on the Gulf of Finland. This Palace was begun in 1711 and built under the direction of Jean Baptiste Alexandre Leblond, Peter the Great's architect, who designed the famous water cascade. The road from St. Petersburg, about sixteen miles long, was "so covered with equipages, horsemen and pedestrians, that it resembled one continued caravan." At twilight "the whole gardens are illuminated; the branches of the trees, and the water of the fountains seem to be con-

verted into fire. The excellent situation of Peterhof and its variety of water-works here combine with the effects of pyrotechnics, to fascinate the sight by a grand picture, produced as it were by magic, and which, once beheld, can never be forgotten." Meanwhile, inside the palace, "the motley-coloured multitude of masks press round the well-furnished tables or join hands in the mazy dance" (*Picture of Petersburg*, p. 460-462; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*; Thieme and Becker, *Lexikon*). JQA's attendance at the annual festival in 1811, while minister to Russia, is described in *Memoirs*, 2:284-288.

11TH. THURSDAY.

Left the ball at about 1. o'clock, after Midnight, and set out for St. Petersbourg. Arrived at about. 5. distance.32 wersts. Went to bed and slept till noon. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

12TH. FRIDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud to the Shops, and bought some things. Returned the domino's. Fine weather in the morning. A thunder storm after dinner. Thermometer at 27. degrees.

July 1782

13TH. SATURDAY.

Went this morning to the English Library. Took out the 2d. volume of the Preceptor and 3 volumes of Clarissa. In the afternoon Mr. D went and took a ride. Very fine weather.

14TH. SUNDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went and took a ride in the forenoon. After dinner Mr. Montréal came here.

15TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Hoogwerst came here. Mr. D. dined at Mr. Wolff's. Went in the evening to see the rope dancer. Changeable weather.

16TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went to the court Comedy to see a Russian play. Stormy windy weather.

17TH. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went and took a walk in the afternoon. Very bad weather.

18TH. THURSDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the evening Mr. Hoogwerst came here. Mr. Artaud din'd at Mr. Rimbert's. Cloudy weather, and a heavy shower of Rain in the evening.

19TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. D. went to take a ride. Changeable weather.

20TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Wolff came to see Mr. D. Mr. D. went and took a ride in the afternoon. I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops. Mr. Artaud went into the country. Clear weather, but windy.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

21ST. SUNDAY.

This morning I went to Mr. Rimbert's to see if Mr. Montréal could go into the country with me. As he could not I went alone. Stay'd there all day and return'd with Mr. Artaud. We got home at about half past eleven o'clock. Fine weather.

22D. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went to the English Library and took out the 2 last volumes of *Clarissa* and Nichols's collection of *Poems*.¹ In the afternoon I wrote a letter to Mr. Thaxter in Holland.² Mr. D. wrote to my Father.³ Windy Rainy weather. Finish'd Cicero's oration pro Milone.

¹ John Nichols, *A Select Collection of Poems: With Notes, Biographical and Historical*, 8 vols., London, 1780-1782. JQA copied several of the poems into his small commonplace books at this time

(M/JQA/24, 26, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel Nos. 219, 221).

² *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:352-353.

³ That of 22 July (Adams Papers).

23D. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Stormy windy weather. Send my Letter.

24TH. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Very bad weather.

25TH. THURSDAY.

This day Mr. D receiv'd some letters from America through Holland. Mr. Artaud dined out. In the afternoon Mr. Hoogwerst came to see us. Bad weather. Stay'd at home all day.

26TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the forenoon Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff's. In the afternoon he went and took a ride. Fine weather.

27TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the forenoon Mr. Wolff came to see Mr. D. In the afternoon Mr. D went and took a ride. Pretty good weather.

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28TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went to Mr. Rimbert's. Mr. Montréal came here. Mr. D went and took a walk in the garden. Mr. Artaud went into the country. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

29TH. MONDAY.

Begun Cicero's oration *pro Marcello*.¹ Mr. D. walk'd out in the forenoon. In the afternoon he went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

¹ JQA's French translation is in M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240. JQA probably used as his Latin source the de Wailly edition, 3:116–145 (see entry for 12 April, above).

30TH. TUESDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Went to take a walk in the summer garden. Fine weather.

31ST. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day; a little unwell. Mr. D. stay'd also all day at home. Rainy weather.

N.(1782)S. AUGUST.

1ST. THURSDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Rimbert came to see us. Dined at his house. After dinner went with Mr. D. Mr. Gonset and Mr. Artaud, to Krasna-Kabak to see the hawking: but we arriv'd too late. Drank tea at Krasna-Kabak, and then return'd home.

2D. FRIDAY.

Mr. Rimbert dined with us this day. Mr. Artaud unwell. Stay'd at home all day. Rainy weather.

3D. SATURDAY.

This afternoon young Mr. Montréal came here. Mr. Hoogwerst came to pay us a visit in the evening.¹ Mr. D. went and took a walk. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

¹ Terminal punctuation supplied.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

4TH. SUNDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. D. to the Jardin de Narischkin. Fine weather.

5TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolffs. Mr. Rimbert came here.¹ In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Fine weather. Mr. Artaud better.

¹ Terminal punctuation supplied.

6TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D rode out in the afternoon. Pretty good weather.

7TH. WEDNESDAY.

This morning I went to the English library and took out 2 volumes of a collection of poems one of Popes works and one of Dryden's. Rain'd hard all the forenoon. In the afternoon Mr. D. took a walk.

8TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D went and took a walk. Mr. Artaud din'd at Mr. Rimbert's. In the afternoon Mr. D. went to the summer garden. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

9TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went and took a ride; stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

10TH. SATURDAY.

Finish'd Cicero's oration *pro Marcello*. In the afternoon I went to the shops with Mr. Artaud. Mr. D rode out. Fine weather.

11TH. SUNDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. D. went to the *Jardin* de Narischkin. Pretty good weather.

August 1782

12TH. MONDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D went and took a walk in the summer garden. Stay'd at home all day. Rainy weather all the forenoon.

13TH. TUESDAY.

In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy, rainy weather.

14TH. WEDNESDAY.

In the forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk. Walk'd with him after dinner in the summer garden. Rainy and Cloudy weather.

15TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D. to the Hotel of the Spanish Minister. Took a ride afterwards. Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. Went and took a walk in the summer garden with Mr. Montréal and Mr. Artaud. After dinner went with Mr. Artaud to the Clubb, when we return'd I found Mr. Hoogwerst here.

16TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Rimbert came to see Mr. D. Stay'd at home all day. Rainy weather.

17TH. SATURDAY.

This day her Majesty dined with all the officers of the regiment of Preobragensky. In the afternoon I walk'd with Mr. Artaud in the Garden. Went to the play, and saw an Italian piece, with a ballet. Went to the English Library and took out some books.

18TH. SUNDAY.

This day the Statue of Peter the great was uncover'd. All the troops in the city amounting to about 10,000 men pass'd in review. Mr. D went to see it. After supper I went to see the statue and the illumination on the square.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

19TH. MONDAY.

This afternoon I went and took a ride with Mr. D. out of town. Pretty good weather.

20TH. TUESDAY.

This evening, I went with Mr. Artaud and Mr. D. to the Comedy, where they presented in French *le Deserteur* a Drama, and *Crispin rival de son maitre*¹ with a ballet. Rainy, stormy weather all day.

¹ Michel Jean Sedaine, *Le Deserteur*, Paris, 1769; Alain René Le Sage, *Crispin rival de son maître*, Paris, 1707 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

21ST. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D went out in the afternoon. Stormy rainy weather.

22D. THURSDAY.

This day Mr. Artaud din'd at Mr. Rimberts. Mr. D. went and took a ride in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

23D. FRIDAY.

This day Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud went to the play, where was presented *Alzire* one of Voltaire's tragedies.¹ Went in the morning to see the Statue of Peter the great.

¹ *Alzire, ou les Américains*, Paris, 1736 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

24TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon the eldest Mr. Montréal came here and I went with him to see the hemp Magazines¹ on the other side of the Neva. We walk'd in the Garden. Mr. D. went out in the forenoon. Mr. Rimbert came to see Mr. D.

¹ That is, hemp warehouses, built extensively on an island in the Neva River, in the Petersburg quarter of the city (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. xvi).

August 1782

25TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Rimberts two Nephews came here to see us. Mr. Artaud din'd out. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Mr. Colombi came to pay us a visit. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather. Mr. Artaud went into the country, 24. wersts out of town.

26TH. MONDAY.

This evening at about 11. o'clock Mr. Artaud return'd from the country. Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D took a ride in the afternoon. Rainy weather in the morning but clear'd up about noon.

27TH. TUESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. took a ride in the afternoon. Rainy weather the greater part of the day. Clear'd up at about 5 o'clock P.M.

28TH. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went out in the afternoon. Rainy weather.

29TH. THURSDAY.

This day Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. Mr. D. received some letters from Holland enclosing others from America.¹ Stay'd at home all day. Rainy stormy weather all day.

¹ Among them was JA to Dana, 7 Aug. (MHi:Dana Papers), and a packet of letters mentioned therein.

30TH. FRIDAY.

Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimberts. Mr. D. wrote a letter to Holland.¹ Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather in the afternoon.

¹ Dana to JA, 30 Aug. (Adams Papers).

31ST. SATURDAY.

Went this morning to the English Library. Went to a book-seller's shop and bought some books.¹ Mr. Wolff came here in the forenoon. Rainy weather.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

¹ One that can be identified is Jean de La Bruyère's *Les Caractères*, 2 vols., Paris, 1768 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

N.(1782.) S. SEPTEMBER.

1ST. SUNDAY.

This forenoon the youngest Mr. Montréal came here. Din'd with Mr. Artaud at Mr. Rimbert's. After dinner I took a walk with Mr. Artaud and the eldest Mr. Montréal to the Convent of St. Alexander Newsky.¹ We went to see the tomb which is of solid silver. When I return'd Mr. D was gone to take a ride.

¹ Alexander Nevski, Russian hero and saint. As prince of Novgorod, he defeated the Swedes in 1240 at the future site of St. Petersburg, on the Neva (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*; Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

2D. MONDAY.

This day the eldest Mr. Montréal came and dined with us. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride.

Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

3D. TUESDAY.

Mr. D went and took a ride in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

4TH. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon Coll. Vallentin arriv'd from Holland and brought us, letters from my Father.¹ Mr. D took a ride, after dinner. Fine weather.

¹ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:322-323; JA to Dana, 13 May (MHi: Dana Papers).

5TH. THURSDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Shops and bought some things. Mr. Artaud went to the Clubb. Mr. D went and took a ride. Fine weather all day.

6TH. FRIDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went to Mr. Wolff's. Wrote a letter to my Father.¹ Mr. D. walk'd out before dinner. Stay'd at home all day. Fine weather.

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¹ *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:378. This letter contains the first indication that JQA was making plans to return to western Europe in response to JA's firmly stated desire, expressed in his letter of 13 May, received two days before.

7TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D to Mr. Rimberts but found no body at home. After dinner I went with Mr. Artaud to the Academy to give my name to be advertised, but could not, because on Saturdays in the afternoon they do not take names. Every body that goes away from hence must have his name advertised in the News-papers at three different times.¹

¹ This procedure was necessary, as JQA later explained, "because no body can pass the frontiers without having a passport from St. Petersbourg. And no body can get a Passport from St. Petersbourg, without having his name advertised three times in the Newspapers: nor without Producing the Passport with which he

came into Russia" (JQA's essay on Russia [ca. Sept. 1783], M/JQA/43, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 238). Public notice was also useful "so that if any occasion should present of a fellow traveller," JQA might take advantage of it (Dana to JA, 16 Sept., Adams Papers).

8TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D went to Mr. Wolff's. Mr. Artaud dined out. Fine weather.

9TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the Academy and gave my name to be advertised. Young Mr. Montreal came here. I went and took a walk with him and Mr. Artaud in the summer garden. In the evening Mr. Artaud went to the concert. Mr. D. went and took a ride after dinner. Very fine weather all day.

10TH. TUESDAY.

St. Alexander Newsky's Day, a very great holiday for the Russians. There was a procession in the forenoon, of priests that went from the church of Casan to the Convent of St. Alexander. Formerly her Majesty went with it on foot; but has left it of[f] these five or six years. In the afternoon Mr. Artaud went into the country.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

11TH. WEDNESDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. D. to see Mr. Normandes. Several persons dined here. After dinner Mr. D. went and took a ride. Took a walk upon the quay after supper.

12TH. THURSDAY.

This day I din'd with Mr. D and Mr. Artaud at Mr. Rimbert's. Borrow'd of Mr. Peyron two volumes of Piron's works.¹ In the evening Mr. Artaud went to the Clubb. Mr. D went and took a ride in the afternoon. Took a walk upon the quay after supper. Pretty good weather all day. Mr. D receiv'd a letter from Holland.

¹ Alexis Piron, French playwright and poet, whose nine-volume *Oeuvres complètes* . . . was published in Paris in 1776 (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*). JQA acquired early a two-volume set of his *Oeuvres choisies*, Geneva, 1777 (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

13TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon I went to Mr. Normandes's. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. In the evening Mr. Hoogwerst came here.

14TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the forenoon Mr. Wolff came to see Mr. D. In the afternoon Mr. D. went out and took a ride. Cloudy Weather.

15TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon the young gentlemen from Mr. Rimbert's came here. Din'd at Mr. Rimberts. After dinner we went and took a tour into the country. Pass'd the evening and supp'd at Mr. Rimberts. Cloudy Weather.

16TH.

Spent the evening and supp'd at Mr. Rimbert's. Rainy weather all day. Mr. Artaud dined out.

September 1782

17TH. TUESDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

18TH. WEDNESDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. D. and drank tea at Mr. Peyron's. Cloudy Weather.

19TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon the younger Mr. Montréal came here. Mr. Artaud dined at Mr. Rimbert's. Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D went and took a ride after dinner. Cloudy weather.

20TH. FRIDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D went and took a ride. In the evening walk'd in the summer garden. Cloudy Weather.

21ST. SATURDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day. Stormy weather.

22D. SUNDAY.

This forenoon Mr. D. went to the Marquis de Verac's. The young Gentlemen from Mr. Rimbert's came here and I went and took a walk with them and Mr. Artaud in the summer garden. We were surprised by the rain. Dined at Mr. Rimbert's. After dinner Mr. D. came away, and I spent the evening and supp'd there. Mr. Artaud came away before supper. Very variable weather all day.

23D. MONDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D went and took a ride. Walk'd in the summer garden after supper. Cloudy weather all day.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

24TH. TUESDAY.

This forenoon I bought Moliere's works.¹ Mr. D. went to Mr. Colombi's in the afternoon. Stay'd at home all day. Cloudy weather.

¹ JQA's set in MQA, perhaps imperfect (in two editions) and possibly incomplete when he bought it, is Molière's *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1760, vols. 1-4, 6, and 7, and Paris, 1753, vol. 8. An inscription in vol. 1, "J. Q.

Adams, St. Petersburg, Septr. 23, 1782. ² R[u]bl[es]," indicates that the works may actually have been purchased the day before (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

25TH. WEDNESDAY.

This day all Mr. Rimbert's family din'd here. In the forenoon Mr. D. went and took a walk. Mr. Artaud went in the evening to the Clubb. Rainy weather.

26TH. THURSDAY.

This day I din'd at Mr. Rimberts'. After dinner I went and took a ride with Mr. D. out of town. Cloudy weather. Clear'd up at night.

27TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D walk'd out before dinner and took a ride in the afternoon. Cloudy weather all day.

28TH.

This afternoon two of the young gentlemen from Mr. Rimbert's came here. Mr. D went and took a ride. Rainy weather All day.

29TH. SUNDAY.

This forenoon I went and took a walk with Mr. Artaud and two of the young gentlemen from Mr. Rimberts in the summer garden. Mr. Artaud and Mr. Montréal went into the country to dine. Mr. Artaud return'd at about 6 o'clock P.M. Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Thaxter.¹ Fine weather all day.

¹ No letter to JQA has been found. On this day Dana actually received two letters from Thaxter, one enclosed inside the other, and dated 21-27, and 31 Aug. (MHi:Dana Papers).

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30TH. MONDAY.

This evening I went with Mr. Artaud to the concert. After supper went and took a walk. Cloudy, rainy weather.

N(1782)S. OCTOBER.

1ST. TUESDAY.

This day several gentlemen dined and supped here. Rainy stormy weather.

2D. WEDNESDAY.

This day I went to the Comedy where the French troop represented, *Le Pere de Famille*,¹ with a Ballet.

¹ Denis Diderot, *Le Père de famille*, Amsterdam, 1758 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

3D. THURSDAY.

This day, I dined and supped at Mr. Rimberts. After dinner I went with Mr. and Mm. Peyron to the Academy. We saw the cabinet of natural history. Cloudy weather.

4TH. FRIDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Cloudy weather.

5TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. went out before dinner. Cloudy weather all day.

6TH. SUNDAY.

This day I din'd and supp'd at Mr. Rimberts.

7TH. MONDAY.

Mr. D dined at Mr. Wolffs. Mr. Artaud went to the concert. Stay'd at home all day.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

8TH. TUESDAY.

This day the French comedians play'd at the summer garden theatre. *L'honnête criminel*.¹

¹ Charles Georges Fenouillot de Falbaire de Quingey, *L'honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial*, Paris, 1767 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

9TH. WEDNESDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. The young gentlemen from Mr. Rimberts dined here. Cloudy weather.

10TH. THURSDAY.

Went to the Academy to have my name advertised. Dined and spent the evening at Mr. Rimberts.

11TH. FRIDAY.

Several gentlemen dined here this day. Cloudy weather, freezes already.

12TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Mr. D. unwell. Cloudy weather.

13TH. SUNDAY.

Dined out with Mr. Artaud. Rainy stormy weather. Went to the Clubb in the evening.

14TH. MONDAY.

This evening I went to the concert with Mr. Artaud. Mr. Gummer¹ came here and supped after the concert.

¹ He would become one of JQA's traveling companions on his return to western Europe through Finland and Sweden.

15TH. TUESDAY.

This afternoon Mr. D. went and took a ride. Stay'd at home all day.

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16TH. WEDNESDAY.

This day all Mr. Rimberts family dined here; in the evening we went to the play and saw *Tancrede* a tragedy with *Le dépit amoureux*.¹

¹ Voltaire, *Tancrede*, Geneva, 1761; Molière, *Le dépit amoureux*, Paris, 1663 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; Cioranescu, *Bibliographie du dix-septième siècle*).

17TH. THURSDAY.

This day I dined at Mr. Rimberts with Mr. D. Return'd directly after dinner. Mr. Artaud stay'd There. Cloudy weather.

18TH. FRIDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to the shops and bought some things.

19TH. SATURDAY.

Stay'd at home all day. Before dinner Mr. D went and took a ride. Mr. Wolff came here.

20TH. SUNDAY.

This day I dined and supped at Mr. Rimberts. Return'd at about 11 o'clock.

21ST. MONDAY.

This day Count Greco,¹ My travelling companion to Stockholm dined here. In the evening I went with Mr. Artaud to the Concert.

¹ An Italian gentleman of dubious reputation. Facts supplied by a Mr. W[olff?] and later confirmed compelled Dana to write to JQA shortly after his departure from St. Petersburg. He asked JQA to

leave the Count at the earliest opportunity, but until that time warned him to be "upon your guard" and to remember "*all my cautions*" (JQA, *Writings*, 1:8; Dana to JQA, 21 Nov., Adams Papers).

22D. TUESDAY.

This forenoon I went to the shops with Mr. Artaud. Went to the exchange. Mr. Peyron and Mr. Montréal dined here.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

23D. WEDNESDAY.

This afternoon I went with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimberts and from thence to the play. They represented *Le Barbier de Seville* and *les trois freres rivaux*.¹ After the play we return'd and supped at Mr. Rimberts.

¹ Beaumarchais, *Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile*, Paris, 1775; Joseph de Lafont or La Font, *Les trois frères rivaux*, Paris, 1713 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

24TH. THURSDAY.

This forenoon I went round to see the fortress with Mr. Montréal Mr. Gummer and Mr. Artaud. Mr. Artaud dined and spent the evening at Mr. Rimberts.

25TH. FRIDAY.

This day I dined with Mr. D. and Mr. Artaud at Mr. Colombi's. After dinner I went to Mr. Rimberts. Mr. Artaud went to the Clubb.¹

¹ Between p. 84 and 85 of the Diary, there has been placed a loose drawing, approximately 3" × 4", of a female figure, presumably a Nereid, leaning on an anchor with a banner overhead reading "Meliora speramus." The source of the drawing, presumably rendered by JQA, is not known.

26TH. SATURDAY.

This day the Count Greco, Mr. Gummer and Mr. Peyron dined here. In the evening I went with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimbert's; spent the evening and supped there.

27TH. SUNDAY.

This morning I went with Mr. Artaud to Mr. Rimberts and from thence we set out, eight in one large carriage and two other gentlemen in another small one for Czarsko-Zelo her Majesty's ordinary residence in the summer.¹ Before we had got half ways the small carriage's axletree broke and we were obliged to take the two other gentlemen in; so that we went all ten in the same carriage. We arrived there at about 12 o'clock and went directly to see the palace the inside of which is not yet wholly finished. After having seen the palace we return'd into the city and arriv'd at about half past seven o'clock; and returned to our sev-

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eral destinations. Czarsko-Zelo is distant from Petersbourg 22 wersts.

¹ The famous summer residence of Catherine the Great at Tsarkoe Selo (renamed Pushkin), located about fifteen miles south of St. Petersburg, was originally a residence of Catherine I. About 1750 it was enlarged and embellished for the Empress Elizabeth in baroque style by the Italian architect Bartolommeo Rastrelli (1700–1771), but its completion and redecoration in neoclassical style was done for Catherine II by the Scottish architect Charles Cameron in the latter part of the century (Storch, *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 74–78; John Parkinson, *A Tour of Russia, Siberia and the Crimea 1792–1794*, ed. William Collier, London, 1971, p. 253).

28TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Peyron to the Baron Albedhyll's¹ to take his orders for Stockholm. In the afternoon Mr. Gummer came here and I went with him to the concert. Return'd at about 9 o'clock.

¹ Gustaf Baron von Albedhyll, Swedish chargé d'affaires to Russia, 1782–1783, and later minister to Denmark, 1785–1789 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 405, 414).

29TH. TUESDAY.

This forenoon I went to the shops and bought some things. After dinner I went and took leave of Mr. Wolff who gave me a letter of recommendation for Hamborough [Hamburg]. Went to Mr. Rimberts'.

30TH. WEDNESDAY.

This morning I went and took leave of the Baron Albedyhl the Swedish chargé d'affaires here, and he gave me a couple of letters for Stockholm. At about noon I took leave of Mr. D. and of Mr. Artaud and set out upon the road for Wibourg [Vyborg]. We arrived at about 11. o'clock P.M. at the third station and as it was extraordinarily dark we stay'd there till 7 o'clock the next morning.¹

¹ For 30 Oct. through 1 Nov., indicating dates in the margins, JQA made one continuous Diary entry, which here has been divided up by days.

THURSDAY. 31ST.

We rode all day that day and all the night and arriv'd at the gates of Wibourg the next morning at about 5 o'clock.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

N(1782.)S. NOVEMBER

I. FRIDAY.

We were obliged to wait about 2 hours at a Dram Shop out of the city waiting for the gates to be opened. And there Mr. Gummer overtook us. He had left St. Petersbourg the same day with us, at about 4 o'clock. P.M. At seven o'clock the gates were opened and we went and stopp'd at the tavern. Mr. Gummer dined out. I was very unwell. The Count and Mr. Gummer spent the evening out: I was so unwell I did not go.

List of the roads from [S]t Petersbourg to Wibourg.

From St. Petersbourg to	wersts
Dranizoukow [Dranichnikowa] ¹	25.
Walkiasiary ²	15.
Lindola [Lindoulia]	18.
Werëmcki ³	20.
Surenoja [Souvenoya]	19
Kamerala [Kämära]	20.
Wibourg	<u>22.</u>
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In general people take for the first post private horses. We paid 4 Roubles for 4 horses. For post horses you pay for the first station 2. copicks. pr. horse pr. werst. From Draniznikow to Lindola you pay 1. copick pr. horse pr. werst, and from Lindola forward you pay only 8 copicks pr. 10 wersts for each horse. When we arrived at Draniznikow we gave 30 copicks to the post master and had our horses directly. We gave at every post 5. 6. or 8 copicks to the post master and were very well served for horses. We gave the postillions from 5. to 15 Copicks, but never 15. unless in the night. The roads in general are very bad from Petersbourg to Wibourg, at the present season of the year, because the Land is pretty good and the frequent rains have made a great deal of mud. There are no houses where to lodge, and if one does not go night and day, one must sleep in the carriage.

Wibourg is a small city situated upon the river: ⁴ very strongly fortified: the houses are almost all of wood; there is but one tavern in the town; and that is not very good.

¹ Because JQA's spellings of town names along the route from St. Petersburg to Stockholm often vary widely from contemporary sources, alternate spellings

have been supplied from "Carte de la partie européenne de l'empire de Russie avec l'indication des chemins de poste, ainsi que des douanes frontières et de la reparti-

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tion actuelle en gouvernements et districts," St. Petersburg, 1809.

² The map, referred to above, lists Bie-loostrowskaya Kirka as 18 versts from Lindoulia.

³ The same map lists Pampola as 20 versts from Lindoulia.

⁴ Left blank in MS.

2D SATURDAY.

This morning at about 11 o'clock we set off from Wibourg for Frederichshamm; we rode all night and arriv'd, the next day at about 4. o'clock P.M.¹

¹ The Diary continues into the following day's entry without a break.

3D. SUNDAY.

Mr. Gummer arrived there at about 8 o'clock in the morning. Here people generally change their russian money for Swedish Rixdallers. We paid 1 Rbl. 40 cop. for each Rixdaller. Mr. Gummer supped out.

List of the roads from Wibourg to Frederichshamm.

From Wibourg to	wersts
Terwajoki [Tervayokki]	20.
Willajoki [Willayokki]	17.
Urpala [Urpola]	23.
Pytterlax [Puterlar]	16
Kouckis ¹	18
Frederichshamm	<u>16.</u>
	110.

From Wibourg to Frederichshamm you pay the same for the horses and for the postillions as from Lindola to Wibourg; the roads in general are at present very bad, and no such thing as a tavern upon the whole way.

¹ In the "Carte de la partie européenne de l'empire de Russie," Hrenwik is listed as 16 versts from Frederichshamm. See entry for 1 Nov., note 1 (above).

4TH. MONDAY.

This forenoon at about 10 1/2 o'clock we left Frederichshamm and rode till about 7. P.M. when we arriv'd at the last russian station. There we stopped.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

5TH. TUESDAY.

This morning at about 10 o'clock we pass'd the russian frontiers and arriv'd at Abbo[r]fors which is the first place in Swedish Finland. Here we were visited. We arriv'd at Lovisa at about 12. o'clock. Mr. Gummer arrived last night about 10 o'clock.

List of the roads from Frederichshamm to Lovisa.¹

When you come into Swedish Finland you pay every thing in Swedish money. You give 4. schillings pr. horse for each Swedish mile which is 10. russian wersts. They count here the money in Rixdallers schillings, and stübers. A Rixdaller is 48 schillings or about 1 1/2 Rouble(s) Russian. A schilling is 4. stübers, or a little more than 3 russian copecks. The postillions commonly have 4. schillings for 3. You are not obliged to give anything, and they are very content for 1 schilling each. There are no regulated posts in Sweden. Each peasant is obliged to furnish a certain number of horses according as he is able, and to prevent their making travellers stop too long, at each post there is a paper where you write your name, where you come from where you go, how many horses you take, and whether you was served quick. At the end of every month the paper is carried before the judge of the village who examines it, and if he finds any complaint against the peasants they are punish'd accordingly. But I should advise travellers always to have their horses ordered before hand for 8 or 10 miles, for then you are sure of having the horses all ready when you arrive at the post. Whereas when you do not have them ordered before hand it is sometimes impossible for them to have their horses ready in less than an hour and sometimes an hour and a half, and it costs but a trifle, to have the horses ordered beforehand.

¹ Here follows a blank space of about four lines.

6TH. WEDNESDAY.

This day we dined with the major of the garrison here whose name is Grippenwald. After dinner we set off from Lovisa for Helsingfors [Helsinki] and went two stations. Lovisa is as yet but a village without fortifications, or gates. It is but about twenty years since it was founded but it is said they intend to begin soon to fortify it.

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7TH THURSDAY [– 8TH FRIDAY].¹

This afternoon at about 4 o'clock we passed thro' Borgo [Borga] which is a small fortified town. We rode all night and arrived at about 7 o'clock in the morning on the 8th. at Helsingfors, a small town not very strongly fortified, but remarkable for the fortress of Sweaborg [Sveaborg] an island situated at about 1/4 of a Swedish mile from Helsingfors and which they say is as strong as Gibraltar. At about 11. o'clock we went and paid a visit to the Count Posse² governor general of all the troops in Swedish Finland. We desired of him a permission to see the fortress of Sweaborg. He told us that it was impossible for us to go to day because the wind was high and contrary so that we should arrive there too late, but that tomorrow he would willingly give us a permission. We dined and supped with him at his house.

¹ Entries for 7–8 Nov. continue without interruption in the Diary; date lines are in the margin, however.

² Fredrik Arvidsson Posse, a close associate of King Gustav III, who was given full command of the Swedish army in

Finland in 1780 and served as commander-in-chief of the Finnish division during the war with Russia in 1788 (*Biographiskt Lexicon öfver Namnkunnige Svenska Män*, 23 vols., Orebo and Uppsala, 1836–1857).

9TH. SATURDAY.

This morning we went to see the fortress of Sweaborg. Dined with the General Posse. Prince Galitzin¹ arrived here this evening.

¹ Possibly a brother or son of Prince Dmitri A. Gallitzin (1734–1803), a man of letters and Russian ambassador at Paris, 1763–1768, and at The Hague, 1770–1782 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 354, 359; JA, *Diary and Au-*

tobiography, 3:3, 15, 29; Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markoff, "Benjamin Franklin, the American Philosophical Society, and the Russian Academy of Science," *Amer. Philos. Soc., Procs.*, 91 [1947]:252–253).

10TH. SUNDAY.

This morning at about 8 o'clock we left Helsingfors, at the same time as the Prince Galitzin. We went this day, three stations. The Prince went but two.

11TH. MONDAY.

This day we went only two stations and stopp'd at the country seat of Mr. Hising an acquaintance of Mr. Gummer's at Fagerwik.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

12TH. TUESDAY.

We went only 3. swedish miles. Stay'd at the country house of Captain Anrinoff son in law to Mr. Hising, at Åmine.

13TH. WEDNESDAY [– 14TH THURSDAY].¹

We left Åmine at about 10 o'clock A.M. and rode all day, and all the night and arrived at about 12. o'clock at Åbo, on the 14th. This is a small town not much fortified but it is the capital of the province of Finland and is said to be the largest town in Sweden except Stockholm.

List of the roads from Lovisa to Åbo.

From Lovisa to	Swed: Miles
Perna	1 1/4.
Forsby.	1.
Ilby.	1 1/4
Borgo.	1.
Wäkaski.....	1 1/4
Sibbokykeky [Sibbo].....	1 1/4
Hakbolo [Haxböle].....	1 1/2
Helsingfors.....	1 3/4.

¹ This entry continues into the next day without a pause; the dateline is in the margin.

15TH. FRIDAY.

This forenoon we went and paid a visit to General Armfeldt¹ governor of Finland. We dined at his hotel with the Prince Galitzin who arriv'd last night. After dinner we went to see the curiosities of the town, but there is nothing extraordinary altho there is a famous University² here. In the evening the General Armfeldt came and paid us a visit.

¹ Gustaf Mauritz, Baron von Armfelt, a native of Finland, who served as a Swedish diplomat and president of the Council of Finland (*Biographiskt Lexicon öfver Namnkunnige Svenska Män*, 23 vols., Orebo and Uppsala, 1836–1857).

² Abo Akademi or Universität Abo, the

Finnish national university, which was removed to Helsinki in 1827 after a fire. General Armfelt served as its chancellor (Eino Kaila, *Les trois siècles de l'Université de Finlande, 1640–1940*, Helsinki, 1940, p. 59–60; *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 492).

16TH. SATURDAY.

This morning at about 10 o'clock we left Åbo at the same time with the Prince Galitzin, but Mr. Gummer intends to stay there

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about a week because he has all his family here and has been a long time absent. We went this day 7 1/2 Miles as far as the first passage at Helsings.

17TH. SUNDAY.

This morning we took boat and went as far as Varsala [Wart-sala] i.e. two miles: we could go no farther.

18TH. MONDAY.

This morning we set off from Varsala in a boat and went 5. miles as far as Kåmlinge. Fine weather.

19TH. TUESDAY.

This day we passed from Kåmlinge to Skarpan by water. The distance is, 6. Swedish miles. We went also two stations by land.

20TH. WEDNESDAY.

This day at about 4 o'clock P.M. we arrived at Eckerö. The Prince Galitzin arrived at about eight o'clock.

21ST. THURSDAY.

This morning at 7 3/4 o'clock we set off from Eckerö in a boat and arrived at Grisselham distant 7. Miles at about 11.1/4. We stay'd there till 2. o'clock P.M. and went 4 stations after.

22D. FRIDAY.

This evening at about 11. o'clock we arrived at Stockholm. We found all the taverns in the town shut up, and could not get one opened.

List of the roads from Åbo to Stockholm.

From Åbo to	Swed: miles
Nussis Nummis	2.
Tursanparo	1.
Laertes	1 1/2
Botila	1 1/4
Helsings	1 3/4.
à Varsala (par eau) by water	2.
Bränden. [Brandö] do.	2 1/4

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Kumlinge	do.	2 1/2
Wargata.	do.	3 1/4.
Skarpans.	do.	3.
Haral[d]sby (par terre) by land	1 1/2
a river		
Enkarby [Emkarby]	.....	1 1/4
Trebenby	.....	1 1/4.
Marby. . (by water)	.....	1/8.
Eskerö	.....	7/8.
Grisselham[n] (by water)	.....	7.
a river		
Taefta (land) [Täfteå]	.....	3/4.
Stubby	.....	1 1/2
Swanberg [Svanberga]	.....	1 1/2
Kragstad	.....	1 1/4.
Rylanda	.....	1.
Hall	.....	1 1/4.
Östby	.....	1.
Enstad	.....	2.
Stockholm	.....	2.
		Swedish Miles
		44. 6/8

Better than one half of the way you are obliged to go by water. And what is worse a traveller is very often obliged to stop at one or another of the passages, especially, at that from Eckerö to Grisselham for whenever the wind is contrary, or if there is no wind at all, you will find no boats, because the mariners will not risk to go over. This is only at the great passage,¹ for a calm weather is the best for the small ones because there are a great number of rocks on all sides, at the small passages, and the best way is to row. For the same reason, when the wind is strong, you can't pass the small passages. But at this season of the year it is impossible to row over the passage of the Ålandshaff in a day; and it is dangerous to arrive in the night. When we arrived at Eckerö we found there the post from Åbo, that had stay'd there for want of wind a whole week, and we were very lucky not to stay more than one night. Upon the whole all the passages are very disagreeable especially at this season of the year, when the weather is commonly bad. There is another road which some travellers take in winter, which they call here, making the northern tour; but this is never done unless it is impossible to go

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the other way; because it makes a difference of no less than 240. Swedish miles which makes about 1700. English.

¹ That is, from Eckerö to Grisselhamn, across the Ålands Haf, or Ålands Sea, the body of water which separates the Åland Islands archipelago and the Swedish mainland, at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia.

23D. SATURDAY.

After having passed the whole night in the street, at last, we found a publick house at the Swedish arms, said to be the best in the city; but if it is the best is not good for much. This forenoon Mr. Brandenburg came here and gave me a letter from Mr. D.¹ After dinner we went into a bookseller's shop to buy some books. We found there a gentleman whose name is Watström; he is director of the mines.² As soon as he found we were strangers without knowing us, he offered to show us every thing that is to be seen in town; and could not have been more polite if we had been strongly recommended to him: indeed I have found from our first entrance into Sweden; that strangers are treated with a great deal of Politeness and civility all over the country.³

¹ Probably Dana to JQA, 21 Oct. (Adams Papers), in which Dana gave JQA directions for the delivery of letters to JA, who would probably be in Paris when JQA reached The Hague, and instructions to have the ciphers intended for America thrown overboard in case of capture.

² Charles Bernard Wadström, with whom JQA was to stay during part of the coming winter, was a Swedish mechanical and mining engineer in government service. In 1769 he was responsible for making navigable the cataract of Trollhättan (sometimes Trolhaëtta or Drolhetta), which JQA saw on 20 Jan. 1783 (below). In 1787 Wadström went to Africa, where he remained for two years. Afterward he visited England, where he advocated the abolition of the slave trade and encouraged the establishment of philanthropic colonies in Africa. While in London he published in 1789 his *Observations on the Slave Trade, and a Description of Some Part of the Coast of Guinea . . .*, as well as subsequent works of a similar nature. Later, while

minister resident to the Netherlands, JQA renewed his friendship with Wadström by correspondence (Helen Maria Williams, "Memoirs of the Life of Charles Berns [Bernard] Wadstrom," *The Annual Register . . . For the Year 1799*, new edn., London, 1813, p. 326–330; Wadström to JQA, 5 Dec. 1795, and JQA to Wadström, 5 July 1797, LbC, Adams Papers).

³ JQA spent the next five weeks (24 Nov.–31 Dec. 1782) in Stockholm, but little is known about his activities there. His seventh Diary, which was written on the blank pages in a Swedish almanac, contains numerous markings by the names of various Swedish officials, presumably those he met while staying in Stockholm. In addition, JQA makes mention, in the few extant letters he wrote during his stay in the country, of Swedish merchants he met in Stockholm, as well as other towns and villages, who were interested in beginning trade with the United States (JQA to JA, 1 Feb. 1783, Adams Papers; JQA to AA, 23 July 1783, *Writings*, 1:8).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

DECEMBER 31. 1782.¹

This morning I left Stockholm at about 9 o'clock A M. in company with the Count Greco and Mr. Fyrbergs a Swedish gentleman who intends to go as far as Norrkiöping. We arrived at Nykiöping at about 12. o'clock at Night, we stay'd there a couple of hours and then set out and arrived at Norrkiöping at about 2. o'clock P.M.²

¹ First entry of D/JQA/6, which has no titlepage and consists of two $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{5}{8}''$ sets of four sheets of paper folded over to make 32 pages. JQA filled 21 of them before he discontinued this Diary. The period covered is 31 Dec. 1782–26 Feb. 1783;

no entries exist for 4, 5, 7, 9, and 21 Feb.

² In the margin of this page in the Diary, containing this and part of the following day's entry, are two small animal-like figures sketched in pencil.

JANUARY 1ST. 1783.

We found here Mr. Schiebe a gentleman who left Stockholm about a week before us.

Norrkiöping is distant from Stockholm eighteen swedish miles or 120. English. Its situation is exceeding fine, at present every thing is covered with Snow;¹ but it is in the midst of a plain which is bordered all round at about 6. or 8 English Miles from the town by high mountains from which you at first discover the city and in summer it seems to be in the midst of a large garden.

After having dined I went to the coffee house, and found there Mr. Charles Bernard Wadström a gentleman whom I knew in Stockholm and whom I owed a great many obligations during my stay there; he presented me to all his family which was assembled together at one of his brother's, where I stay'd and supped.

¹ Reporting to AA on his journey from St. Petersburg to The Hague, JQA wrote that he "was obliged to stop at a small town, called Norrköping . . . for a fortnight, because of a very heavy fall of snow, which happened just at that time" (JQA to AA, 23 July, *Writings*, 1:8).

JANY. 2D.

This day I dined at Mr. C. B. Wadström's. In the evening I went to the coffee house.

3D.

This morning the Count set off from here and continued his route for Carlsrona [Karlskrona]. I went with Mr. Wadström

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about 3. Swedish miles out of town, to pass there this day and tomorrow.

4TH.

This afternoon at about 3 o'clock, we set out to return in town and arrived at about 6. o'clock. We went to the coffee house after our return.

5TH.

This forenoon I went with Mr. Schiebe to the german church, but it happened this day that we had a Swedish sermon.¹ I dined at Mr. C. B. Wadström's. After dinner I went with him out of town to his brother's where we stay'd till after supper, and then return'd in town.

¹ In the margin of the entry is a small pencil sketch of a minister at his pulpit with his congregation below.

6TH.

This day I dined at Mr. C. B. Wadström's. In the evening I went to the assembly here, of which there are sixteen every winter.¹ This was the first for this winter. I return'd home at about 11. o'clock.

¹ In the margin of the entry are three small pencil sketches: several figures seated around a table; a man and woman dancing; and two couples dancing in a circle.

7TH.

I dined at Mr. C. B. Wadström's with a great deal of company. In the evening I went to the play,¹ which can indeed hardly be call'd a play. However, it is as much as this small town can allow. After the play I return'd to Mr. Wadström's where [with?] all the company.²

¹ In the margin is a small pencil sketch of two figures standing before a backdrop.

² Laid in between pages two and three of the Diary is the following four-line poem, written presumably in Wadström's hand:

Monsieur et chère Ami!

Tout se passe avec le Tems

Le Tems se passe de meme
L'Eternité n'a point de Tems
Mon Amitié de même
à Norrköping en Ostrogothie
C B: Wadström.

le 7me. Janvier
1783

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8TH.

I dined at Mr. Pasch's with a great deal of company. We had a ball, in the evening which did not break up till about 4 o'clock in the morning of the 9th.

9TH.

Dined at Mr. Körners. In the evening I went to the assembly; at about 10 o'clock I return'd and supp'd at Mr. Körners.

10TH.

Dined with Mr. C. B. Wadström: bad weather all day.

11TH.

Snow storm, all day. Dined at Mr. Wadström's.

12TH.

This day I went into the country, and spent the day at Mr. Kanterberg's the brother in law of Mr. Wadström.

13TH.[-16TH].¹

This morning Mr. Schiebe set out for Gottenburgh [Göteborg]. I am to overtake him to morrow morning in Linkiöping. I dined at old Mr. Wadström's and in the evening I went to the assembly. At about 10 o'clock I return'd and supped at old Mr. Wadström's; went to my Lodgings and ordered horses, and at about 2. o'clock. A.M. of the 14th. I set out for Linkiöping where I arriv'd at about 7. o'clock. It is only 4. Swedish miles from Norrkiöping. I found here Mr. Schiebe, and at about 10 o'clock we set out to continue our journey to Gottenburgh, where we arrived on Thursday the 16th. at about eleven o'clock at night. The distance is about 250 Engh. miles. One part of the road is very good because of the snow, but there are some places in the province of Scania [Skåne] where there is no snow at all. It is very troublesome to travel these roads in the winter because from Stockholm to the entry of the Province you cannot go otherwise than in slays, and then very often you find no Snow at all; thro' the whole Province of Scania there is never Snow enough for

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Slaying until the latter end of this month: and sometimes not even then.

¹ This diary entry continues through 16 Jan. without a pause or break; the datelines for the 14th and the 16th (omitted here) are in the margin.

17TH.

This Day I went with Mr. Schiebe to the exchange, and met there with Count Greco, who has been here already a week. He proposed to me to go with him and two other gentlemen to take a tour to Drolhetta [Trollhättan] where there are famous water falls about 8. Sweedish miles from this Place; he told me they shall set out to morrow, and I agreed to go with them. In the afternoon I went and deliver'd a letter of introduction to Mr. Lars Kähre, a capital merchant of this town.

18TH.

I left Gottenburg this morning in Company with Count Greco, Mr. Khrumppöck a Sea officer in the Dutch service, and Mr. Gadelius a young Swedish gentleman who belongs to Ud[d]evalla, we are at present (10 o'clock. P.M.) about half ways to Drolhetta; the roads are not very agreeable (as we are with a coach,) on account of the Snow.

19TH.

We arrived at Drolhetta at about 5. o'clock this afternoon, but at the last post we were obliged to leave our carriage on account of the quantity of Snow, and take Slays.

20TH.

This morning we went to see the falls which did not answer my expectations, but this place is still more famous for the expence the Sweeds have been at to cut a canal from hence to the sea so that Swedish vessels might come from the Atlantic, without being obliged to pass the Sound:¹ but after all they have not been able to succeed in their enterprize.² After having seen everything remarkable here, we return'd in Slays to the first Post and then we took our carriage; but could not get further on than Wennersborg [Vänersborg], which is the first Station. The road we took [could?] have taken to return is not the same as the

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one we went. And there has fallen more Snow here than on the other road. Here the Count left us at about 10 o'clock in the evening and set out to return to Gottenburg in A Slay; as he is obliged to continue his journey.

¹ That is, Öresund (the Sound), the strait between Sjælland Island, Denmark (on which Copenhagen is located), and southwest Sweden, connecting the Kattegat, an arm of the North Sea, with the Baltic. At its narrowest point the strait is two

and one-half miles wide.

² The Göta Canal, a waterway of canals, lakes, and rivers which passes around the Trollhättan Falls and connects Göteborg with Stockholm, was not completed until 1832.

21ST.

This morning we left our carriage at Wennersborg, and took slays, for Udevalla where we arrived at about 5. o'clock P. M. This is the town to which Mr. Gadelius belongs.

22D.

This day we dined and supped at Mr. Gadelius's mother's, in company with several Gentlemen of this town.

23D.

We dined at Mr. Williamson's; a merchant of this place; in the evening we went to the assembly where we stay'd till about 1 o'clock in the morning, very stormy windy weather the greatest part of the day.

24TH.

This morning at about 10 o'clock I set out from Udevalla all alone in a Slay for Gottenburgh. When I came to the third station I was obliged to Stop on account of the Storm, at the end of a couple of hours the Snow abated and I continued My Journey till about midnight when I arrived at the last Post where I shall be obliged to Stay untill the morning as the gates of Gottenburg are not opened before 7. o'clock. Very stormy weather.

25TH.

This morning I arrived at Gottenburg at about 9 o'clock in the morning. Went to Change; found the Count left Gottenburg the day before yesterday. Mr. Lars Kåhre presented me to the

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French Consul here Mr. De L'isle who appears to be a clever sort of a gentleman. I dined with him at a tavern in the town and in the evening I went to the Coffee House.

26TH. SUNDAY.

I Dined this day at Mr. Kåhre's in company with Mr. De L'isle and Mr. Cederström¹ a merchant of this town who has a brother lately established in Boston.

¹ Carl Söderström was the brother of Richard Söderström, Swedish merchant and consul at Boston, whom JQA met on 27 July 1785, after his return to America (*The Diplomatic Correspondence of the*

United States of America, from the Signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 10th September 1783, to the Adoption of the Constitution, March 4, 1789 . . ., 7 vols., Washington, 1833–1834, 7:478–480).

27TH. MONDAY.

This morning I carried my Letters of introduction to the Baron Ahlströmmer's and Mr. Arfvidson's. I dined at Baron Claes Ahlströmmer;¹ after dinner Mr. Podolyn, a gentleman who lives with Baron Claes, shew me a very compleat Cabinet of Roman medals. This gentleman has travell'd almost all over Europe; and speaks almost all the Languages of Europe very correctly, I went with him in the evening to the concert. Baron Patrick Ahlströmmer² is a very great Lover of musick; and plays very well himself upon the violin.

¹ Clas Alströmer was originally an agriculturalist who studied sheep breeding in six European countries from 1760 to 1764. After his return to Sweden he joined the East Indian Company of Göteborg, an internationally known business firm. Later he formed a partnership with his brother Patrick. During the American Revolution the brothers, through the East Indian Company, planned a great trading venture in metal and cloth products to the American colonies, borrowing considerable capital for the purpose. As soon as peace was established, however, the market for Swedish goods collapsed, and the East Indian Company suffered a loss of 300,000

riksdalers (*Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*).

² Trained in the management of cloth manufacturing, Patrick Alströmer became director of manufactures of Alingsås, a town northeast of Göteborg, in 1758; four years later he visited cloth-manufacturing facilities in St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. After a catastrophic fire in Alingsås ruined Patrick's business, he accepted an invitation from his younger brother Clas to enter into partnership with him. Patrick became director of the East Indian Company in 1777, and the two brothers were raised to the rank of baron the following year (same).

28TH. TUESD.

Dined at Mr. Cederströms this day. In the afternoon I went to see a Gentleman whose name is Beckmann.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

29TH. WEDNESD.

I receiv'd this day several letters from Messrs. Wadström at Norrkiöping.¹

¹ Letters not found.

30TH. THURSD.

This day I din'd at Mr. Greigg's¹ a merchant of this Place. In the evening I went to the assembly, which is much more brilliant here than I have seen it any where: in Stockholm they are much more so, but there were no assemblies there while I was in town on account of the mourning for the Death of the Queen Dowager,² which is at present finish'd: this is said to be for [opu]lence³ the second City in the King[dom]. I believe there is no Country in Europe where the people are more hospitable and affable to Strangers, or more hospitable among themselves than the Sweeds. In almost every town however small it may be they have these assemblies at least once a week during three months. They are by subscription, but a Stranger may enter by paying 1 half of a Rixdaller. There one may dance Country dances minuets, or play cards just as it pleases you; and every body is extremely polite to Strangers. Besides this they have very often private balls, which without being expensive are very well calculated to pass away agreeably, the long winter evenings which they have in this country. Even the peasants, the people of the lowest class are very polite here, and that I believe no other country can boast of. In general I think there can be no country in Europe where the Strangers are more civilly treated than in Sweden.

¹ Henry Greig, who had earlier forwarded letters to JA and offered his services "in these parts" to JA or his friends (Greig to JA, 12 May 1781, Adams Papers; *Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 2:111, 390).

² Louisa Ulrica of Hohenzollern, sister of Frederick the Great and wife of Adol-

phus Frederick V, King of Sweden, 1751–1771. Her son, Gustavus III (1746–1792), was King at this time (*Brockhaus Enzyklopadie*, Wiesbaden, 1969).

³ Words here and below partially obscured by water damage.

31ST.

This day I dined at a tavern in town with the French Consul and several other Gentlemen: in the evening I went to the Play, which is certainly nothing extraordinary, but is as much as can be expected from such a Place as this.

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JANUARIUS. 1783.¹

Parti de Stockholm le 31. Dec're 1782. Arrivé à Norrkiöping le 1. Janvier. 1783. Depart de Norrkiöping le 14. à 2 heures du matin, arrivé à Gothenbourg le 17.² à 11. heures du soir. Le 19. je partis de Gottenbourg pour Drolhetta, nous y arrivâmes le 20. Le 21. nous vîmes la cascade et nous partîmes pour Udevalla. Nous fûmes obligés de laisser nôtre voiture à Wennersborg à 3. lieues d'Udevalla à cause de la neige.³ Nous arrivames le 22 à Udevalla.⁴ Le 24. Je partis tout seul pour Gothenbourg et J'y arrivai le 25. à 9 heures du matin.

¹ This monthly summary comes from the first entry in D/JQA/7, a small pocket almanac of 348 pages, approximately 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5", entitled *Historisk Almanach För Året 1783* . . . , Stockholm [1783]. The first 13 pages consist of a calendar for the year 1783, interleaved with 12 blank pages on which JQA wrote in French short, scattered notes of his activities from 31 Dec. 1782 to 17 Oct. 1783. JQA began writing in this Diary in the form of a monthly summary of his activities, particularly his constant arrivals and departures as he traveled from country to country, but gradually the entries became scattered line-a-day memoranda. Monthly summaries from January through April are placed in the published Diary as the final entry for each respective month. After 26

Feb., when D/JQA/6 ends, D/JQA/7 constitutes the only Diary JQA kept until 6 Aug., when he briefly resumed longer entries in another Diary booklet, D/JQA/8. Entries in D/JQA/7 for 6, 9, 12, 16, and 22 Aug. and 22 Sept. have been omitted in favor of the fuller corresponding entries in D/JQA/8; in one instance, 29 Aug., entries from both of these Diaries have been printed because they contain different information. All other entries from D/JQA/7 after 6 Aug. have been retained.

² According to JQA's main entry, above, he arrived in Göteborg on 16 Jan.

³ JQA arrived at Trollhättan on 19 Jan., and the events recorded here for 21 Jan. occurred on the previous day.

⁴ Likewise, JQA arrived at Uddevalla the day before, 21 Jan.

FEBRUARY 1783. 1ST. SATURDAY.

This morning Mr. Schiebe left this place to go to Marstrand where he intends to stay some days.

2D. SUNDAY.

I dined this day at Mr. Erskine's the English Consul: in the evening I went to the play. Supped at Baron Patrick Ahlströmmer's.

3D. MONDAY.

I spent the evening and supped with a numerous company at counsellor Arvidson's.

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6TH. THURSD.

Dined this day with a great deal of Company at Baron Claes Ahlströmmers; in the evening I went to the play and afterwards I return'd again to Baron Ahlströmmers where I supp'd.

8TH. SATURDAY.

This forenoon Mr. Schiebe arrived here from Marstrand, we decided to set out next Tuesday for Copenhagen.

[10TH.—]11TH. [MONDAY—]TUESDAY.

Last evening at about 10 o'clock I went to a Mascarade Ball which we had in Town. As it was but the second that has ever been given in this place it was not very brilliant And the masks were almost all the same; the men dressed in sailors, and the women [in]¹ Country girls almost universally, but [it] was very well for a beginning. I stay'd there till about 4. o'clock this morning, when I return'd to my Lodgings threw myself upon a bed and slept till about 7. o'clock then pack'd up my trunks, and set away from Gottenburg with Mr. Schiebe at about half past 8. We arrived at Kungsbacka which is 3 1/2. Swed: miles. from Gottenburg, at about 5. o'clock. P.M. We cannot go any further this night on account of the weather and roads which are very bad as within these three weeks there has been nothing but a continual rain. The winter in this part of Sweden is not agreeable, as it is either extremely cold or else it rains continually.

¹ Editorially supplied here and below; words are obscured in MS owing to some water damage.

12TH. WEDNESD.

We came this day as far as Warberg [Varberg] which is about 6. miles Swed: from Kungsbacka. The roads are so terrible bad that we shall not be able to go at all, the nights. The weather has been pretty good all day, but very cold.

13TH. THURSD.

We rose this morning at about 7. o'clock and left Warberg, we rode till about Nine o'clock this evening when we arrived at Halmstad. The distance is about 7. Swed: miles. The roads are extremely bad all the way.

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14TH. FRIDAY.

After having rode this day about 8. miles Swedish, we arrived at about 9. o'clock, P.M. At Helsingborg [Hälsingborg] which is the last town in Sweden.

15TH. SATURD.

Having left Helsingborg this morning at about 10' o'clock, we pass'd the Sound and at about 11. we arriv'd at Elseneur [Helsingör] which is the first Danish town. We stay'd there about 2 hours to refresh ourselves and have our trunks examined and set out from there at about 1' o'clock afternoon, and arrived at Copenhagen at about 7. o'clock. Copenhagen is distant from Elseneur 5 German Miles; we took up our lodgings at Vassal's in the Strand, and I found here the Count, who has already been here a fort'night, and who has engaged a place in a Vessel, which is to sail next Tuesday for Kiel. As I have nothing of any consequence to do here and as there is nothing very extraordinary to be seen here, I believe I shall go at the same time if there is any more Place in the Vessel.

16TH.

This morning I went with the Count and Mr. Schiebe to see the royal Cabinet of curiosities which is vast; but not much in order; there [are] some very curious things in it; but there are others which are not worth looking at. There are two pieces of silver just as they came out of the mines in Norway, one of which is worth 5,000 Rxdallers, Danish and the other about 3,000. One would think seeing such enormous masses that the mines are very rich and that money is plenty, but it is quite the contrary, there is not scarce any specie in Copenhagen, all goes by bank bills, which are falling, and depreciating because they cannot be realized: if you carry one of these bills to the bank; suppose it to be a bill of 100. Rxdallers you will receive 10 Rxdallers Specie and all the rest in smaller bills.

17TH. MOND.

This forenoon We went to see a Gentleman who has a Cabinet of Curiosities, in Painting, sea shells and insects. His Cabinet is pretty well furnish'd but not entirely in order. In the evening we

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all went to the play but stay'd there only a few minutes because it was so full. The King goes almost every Night to the play, but was not there this evening because the Prince Frederick's consort is unwell, and the King never stirs out of the Palace without having Prince Frederick, with him.¹

¹ Christian VII (1749–1808) became progressively more insane during his reign, and in 1784 his son, Prince Frederick (1768–1839), was made regent until his father's death, when he assumed the throne as Frederick VI. The Prince Frederick mentioned here is Christian's half-

brother (1753–1805), who married Sophia Frederica of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1774 (*La grande encyclopédie: inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, 31 vols., Paris, [1886–1902]; *Almanach royal*, 1784).

18TH. TUESD.

Mr. Schiebe and I have engaged places in the vessel that is to sail for Kiel but the wind is contrary at present. This day I went and carried a letter of Introduction I had for Mr. Soeren Lycke a merchant of this town. I walk'd about the town in the afternoon with Count Greco. In the evening we went to a Coffee House.

19TH. WEDNESD.

This forenoon Mr. Heiliger;¹ a Gentleman from the Danish West India's, and who has liv'd in America some time, came to see me. The wind continues still bad.

¹ John Heyliger (sometimes Hyleger or Heiliger), a member of a trading and planting family from St. Croix with New York connections; JQA later recalled that

he "was under many obligations" to Heyliger during his three-week stay in Copenhagen (entry for 10 Aug. 1785, below; NYHS, *Colls.*, 14 [1905]:270).

20TH. THURD.

This forenoon I went and pay'd a visit to Mr. Heiliger, who invited me to dine with him at a Club of which he is member; he invited at the same time Mr. Schiebe. We accepted his invitation. After dinner we left him, and return'd in the evening to sup with him at his own house.

22D. SATURDAY.

We dined this day with a numerous company at Mr. Lycke's. In the evening I went to the play and had there an occasion of seeing the King, and Prince royal. As I was in Company with a gentleman of the town I ask'd him some question about the King

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and royal Family; he did not say much about the King but when I spoke of the Prince royal *ah!* says he, “*nôtre Jeune prince a beaucoup d’esprit.*” As for the King he is neither remarkable for his wit nor for his understanding, and the people all over the City make no scruple to say it publicly.

23D. SUNDAY.

This afternoon I went and paid a visit to the Baron de la Houze¹ the French Minister here; he offer’d to send any letter I should write to my Father with his Dispatches to Mr. De Vergennes.²

¹ Matthieu de Basquiat, Baron de la Houze, French minister plenipotentiary to Denmark, 1779–1792 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 112).

² Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs during the American Revolution.

24TH. MOND.

This morning I went to pay a visit to the Baron de la Houze. When I return’d to the Hotel at about 12 o’clock I found the Count and Mr. Schiebe packing up, as the Captain has sent word that the wind is Good and that he intends to set sail this afternoon. (8. o’clock P.M.) We dined at about twelve o’clock and came on board soon after dinner. Since we are on board the wind has chang’d and is at present contrary but we hope it will become favourable in the night.

25TH.

The wind continued bad all day. In the afternoon the Count went on shore.

26TH.

The Count came on board to take us on shore with him so we left our trunks on board and having told the Captain to let us know when the wind became favourable, we return’d on shore.

FEBRUARIUS. 1783.

11. Depart de Gottenbourg a 8. heures du matin. Nous arrivames á Copenhague le 15. à 8 heures du soir.¹

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¹ Times of departure and arrival vary slightly from the main entries (above).

JQA's return to The Hague from Copenhagen, sketchily presented in this and the following two entries in his Diary, was marked with numerous delays, which characterized his entire journey from St. Petersburg. Arriving in the Danish capital on 15 Feb., he decided to go to Kiel by boat to avoid bad roads and an expensive fare. But after he had waited for nearly three weeks for a good wind, the harbor froze up and he was obliged to go to Hamburg by land. Arriving there on or about 10 March,

he stayed for nearly a month before traveling to Bremen, where he remained four days before continuing his journey to Amsterdam. During his stay in the two German cities, he studied the commercial life and concluded that Hamburg would "carry on hereafter a great deal of Trade with America." JQA arrived in Amsterdam on 15 April and settled in The Hague at his father's residence, the Hôtel des Etats Unis, on 21 April (JQA to JA, 20 Feb., 14 March; JQA to AA, 23 July, all in Adams Papers; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:ix-x).

MARTIUS. 1783.

5. Depart de Copenhague et l'10 arrivée à Hambourg.¹

¹ JA wrote to AA on 28 March, informing her that JQA had been impeded by "terrible Weather" on his journey from St. Petersburg and that "my Son has been another Source of Distress to me." Receiving a letter from JQA dated 14 March from

Hamburg, JA was hopeful that his son would arrive at The Hague by the end of March, but it was another three weeks before JQA reached his destination (*Book of Abigail and John*, p. 344).

APRILIS. 1783.

5. Depart de Hambourg arrivée à Breme [Bremen] le. 6. Nous y restames jusques au 12. À 3. heures de l'après midi que nous partimes pour Amsterdam. Nous voyageames nuit et jour jusques au 16. que nous y arrivames a 11. heures avant midi. J'y restai jusques au 20. Alors j'en partis et j'arrivai à la Hay le 21. à 9. heures du matin.

MAJUS. 1783. 20ME.

Diné à Rotterdam chés Mr. Van Berkel ancien bourguemaitre de la ville, et presentement ministre Plenipotentiaire de L. L. H. H. P. P.¹ auprès du Congrès.²

¹ JQA means L.H.P., Les Hautes Puissances, or Their High Mightinesses, the name given to the Dutch States General as a body (Guthrie, *Geographical Grammar*, p. 406).

² JA was concerned about his son's course of studies, but owing to the treaty negotiations with Britain being carried forward in Paris, he was not in the Netherlands when JQA returned from St. Pe-

tersburg. JA allowed his son a choice of either returning to Leyden to study with his former tutor or staying at The Hague and continuing his studies under the direction of C. W. F. Dumas, a close friend whom JA later described as "A Walking Library, and so great a Master of Languages ancient and modern [which] is rarely seen." JA also encouraged JQA to improve his penmanship and writing style and recom-

March–July 1783

mended that he continue his study of mathematics, especially algebra. JQA decided to study with Dumas, in part because of the uncertainty of JA's stay in Europe. Within a month he was beginning to translate Suetonius' life of Caligula and the Greek testament; later he began to read the works of Plautus and Terence (JA to JQA, 18 Feb; JQA to JA, 21 April, 12 May; Dumas to JA, 18 July, all in Adams Papers; *Book of Abigail and John*, p. 349).

For relaxation, JA suggested that JQA read some books, "along with your Severe Studies and laborious Exercises," and recommended several volumes on morals. But for "amusement," JQA turned to Virgil, reading a hundred verses of the *Aeneid* at a time with Dumas, who "explain[ed] to me every thing which regards the ancient rites; and ceremonies"; then he compared

Dryden's translation with the original (JA to JQA, 19 May; JQA to JA, 24 May, both in Adams Papers). JQA studied with Dumas for three and a half months before leaving The Hague with JA. Besides the translation of Suetonius, which is probably the one in French in the Adams Papers (M/JQA/45, Microfilms, Reel No. 240), he copied and translated into English verse ten Eclogues of Virgil (M/JQA/43, Microfilms, Reel No. 238) and began a series of translations into French of Horace's Odes, Books I and II (M/JQA/42, Microfilms, Reel No. 237). The direction and stimulus provided by Dumas seem evident from JQA's later readings and translations done while living in France and England, discussed in notes for entries of 20 Oct. 1783, and 8 Aug. 1784 (below).

23.

Diné à Schevening sur les dunes.

24.

Partis pour Amsterdam, y arrivai le 25. à 6 heures du matin.

LE 27.

J'en partis a 11. heures et J'arrivai á la Haye le même jour à dix heures du soir.

JUNIUS. 1783. 3ME.

Je fus diner à Rotterdam avec Monsieur Baron qui s'en retourne à Paris.

JULIUS. 1783. 14.

Je fus à Delft avec Monsr. Fitch¹ et sa compagnie, qui partent pour L'Angleterre.

¹ Most likely Eliphalet Fitch, a native Bostonian, reputedly very rich, who may have held a crown office in Jamaica, and whom JA described to JQA as a grandson

of Dr. Thomas Boylston "and consequently your Relation" (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:134; JA to JQA, 12 June, LbC, Adams Papers).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

22.

A 11 heures du soir mon Pere arriva de Paris.¹

¹ Absent from The Hague since late Oct. 1782, JA returned there on this day, and after two weeks of discussions with his Patriot friends at The Hague and merchants and bankers in Amsterdam, he departed for Paris with JQA. JA thought his stay in Europe would end shortly after ne-

gotiations with Great Britain were completed, and he wanted his son to come with him and serve as his secretary during the interim (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:141-142; *Book of Abigail and John*, p. 360-362).

26.

Je partis de la Haye á 6 heures du matin avec mon Pere, arrivé a Amsterdam á 1. heure après midi.

28.

Diné chés Mr. W. Willink.¹

¹ Wilhem Willink of Wilhem and Jan Willink, one of the three Amsterdam banking houses which raised the first Dutch loan for the United States in 1782 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:125; 2:451).

29.

Diné chés Mr. Ingraham.

30.

Nous retournames à la Haye.

J.Q.A. Diary Aug 6 1783 – Dec 5 1783.¹

¹ Titlepage of D/JQA/8, on the cover of a leather-bound 7¼" × 4¾" writing book with the inscription in an unknown hand. The Diary book covers the period 6-29 Aug. (with no entries for 13-14, 17-19, and 24-26 Aug.) and 20-22 Sept. 1783,

only, taking up 34 of the book's 104 pages. These entries are printed with those remaining from D/JQA/7; but see entry for Januarius 1783, note 1 (post 31 Jan., above).

AUGUST. 6TH. 1783. WEDNESDAY.

This morning, I set out from the Hague, in Company with my Father; at about half past 4. o'clock in the morning. At 7. we arrived at Rotterdam; passed the Maes [Meuse], and rode as far as Moerdyk, where we arrived at about 12. We were obliged to stay

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till 4. o'clock, because the wind, and tide were both contrary. We arrived at about 11. o'clock at night at the last Post before Antwerp, and cannot go any further because the gates of the City are shut from 9. o'clock at night untill 4. in the morning. The Land from the Hague to Moerdyk is good; and is for the most part planted with wheat, oats, and horsebeans; but for the 5. last Leagues the Land is very bad and produces nothing at all.

AUG. 7TH. THURSDAY.

We were going this morning at about 3. We arrived at 7. at Antwerp. After breakfast we went to the cathedral Church, to see the Paintings. The most remarkable of them are.

1.

The descent from the Cross, regarded as the master Piece of Rubens. It is indeed most admirable: every Figure looks alive except the capital one and that equally accurately represents nature. On one side of the Picture is, another representing the annunciation, and on the other, is one representing the Purification. On the reverse is St. Christopher fording a river in the figure of an Hercules with the Child Jesus upon his back, and a Hermit holding a Lantern to Light him. Rubens has painted one of his wife's for the Virgin Mary, and his Daughter for Mary Magdalen.

2.

The Ascencion of the Virgin, Mary: which being placed over the Altar, and the Priests saying Mass, I could not get a good look at. It is also one of the best Paintings, of Rubens; according to the Connoisseurs.

3.

The Martyr of St. Sebastian who is tied to a tree and pierced with arrows, by an Italian painter named Cocci. It is a good Picture.

4.

The battle of the Angels by Francis Florus. This Picture is good, but is the most remarkable for an Anecdote upon it. The Painter had a Daughter, who was beloved by a Black smith called Quintus Mezzus who demanded her in Marriage, but he would not consent to his Daughter's marrying a Black Smith and refused him. Upon this, Mezzus set out for Rome and stay'd there 7. years, to learn the art of Painting. When he return'd,

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Florus, was about, (and had nearly finish'd) this picture. Mezzus one day went into his Cabinet while he was out; and painted a bumble bee upon the thigh of one of the fallen Angels. When Florus return'd to his work, he was deceiv'd and attempted to knock off the bee. But when he saw his mistake and found that Mezzus had done it; he granted him his request, and gave him his daughter. There are a number of other Paintings in this Church, but none of them are extraordinary.

From thence we went to the *Eglise de St. Ja[c]ques*, which is only remarkable for the tomb of Rubens, and his Family. There is in it a Picture by Rubens: in which he has represented, his Grand-Father; his Father, himself, his two wives, his two Daughters, and his son.¹ The Picture is a very fine one.

We went also to see several private Collections; Mr. Stevens's, Mr. van Lancker's, and Mr. Beckman's. There are a great number of very fine Picture's at all of them; but, there is one, at Mr. Beckman's representing Rembrandt's mother; painted by Rembrandt; which surpasses all description. The art of portrait Painting was perhaps, never carried to so great a Perfection as in this Picture. She is represented with an old bible in her Lap; with a paper in it, her Spectacles in one hand, and the other; upon her breast, reflecting upon what she is supposed to have just been reading. Every step you take the bible shows itself in a different position. It is nature itself.

At about 2. we left Antwerp, to continue our Journey, we rode as far as Halle, which is two Posts from Bruxelles on the Road to Paris. We arrived at about 9 o'clock in the evening.

¹ Probably *Virgin with Saints*, painted ca. 1637 (Edward Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909, p. 211, but note also p. 68).

AUG. 8TH. FRIDAY.

This morning we set out from Halle at about 3 o'clock, and rode without interruption untill we arrived at Cambray at about 2 1/2 afternoon. We dined at Cambray, and after dinner we went to the Cathedral Church, and saw the tomb of François de Salignac de la Mothe, Fénelon; Archbishop, of Cambray, and author of *Telemachus*.¹ At 4. we left Cambray and rode till 10, when we arrived at Roye where we put up for the Night.

¹ Fénelon, French prelate and author of *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*, first published in 1699; it was construed as a satire on Louis XIV and his policies and brought Fénelon into disfavor (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

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AUG. 9TH. SATURDAY.

We Left Roye this morning about 5. o'clock and rode as far as Chantilly without Interruption. We dined at Chantilly, and I went to see the Gardens and Stables of the Prince de Condé¹ to whom this Place belongs. The Stables are a fine Piece of Architecture, and every thing is in order. There are 240. horses in them, and each horse has his own manger; with his name over it. Inside of the building is this Inscription.

Louis Henri, de Bourbon.²
7me. Prince de Condé
À fait Construire ces batimens,
Et ceux qui en dependent, commencés
en 1719, et achevés, en 1735.

The Gardens are Superb; there is a small river which runs down from above the Gardens, and furnishes all the jet d'eau's with water. There are in the Gardens several small, houses, which on the outside look like Peasants hut's, but are most elegantly furnish'd, and are beautiful inside. There is an equestrian Statue of the Connetable de Montmarenci³ in bronze, and a marble Statue of the grand Condé.⁴ We left Chantilly at about 4. o'clock P.M. and arrived at Paris at about 7. o'clock in the evening. The Land as I have already said is very good thro' Holland but is miserable from the entrance of the Emperor's Dominions to Antwerp, for the Space of 10 leagues, from Antwerp, to several Posts this side of Cambray; there is perhaps not better Land, nor more universally cultivated, in Europe. From thence to Paris, it is still good, but not extraordinary. The Road is as Follows.

From the Hague to Rotterdam. 3 Dutch, Hours⁵ which make about 12. English Miles.

From Rotterdam (after passing the Maes) to Moerdyk 6. Hours.
Passage of the Moerdyk about 3. English Miles.

From Moerdyk to ____ 3 Hours.

From ____ to ____ 5.⁶

From ____ to Antwerp. 5.

	Posts. ⁷
From Antwerp to Mechlin	2.
Bruxelles.	2 1/2
Halle.	1 1/2.
From Halle to Braine le Comte	2.

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Castillan [Casteau?]	1 1/2
Carignan [Quaregnon]	1 1/2
Quievraing	1 1/2
Valenciennes ⁸	1 1/2.
Bouchain	2.
Cambray	1 1/2
Bon-Avis [Bonavy?]	1 1/2
Fins	1 1/2
Peronne	2.
Marché le Pot	1 1/2
Fonches	1.
Roye	1.
Conchy les Pots	1 1/2
Cuvilly	1.
Gournay	1.
Le Bois de Liheu	1.
Chantilly	2.
Luzarches	1 1/2.
Ecouen	1 1/2.
Saint Denys	1.
Paris	1. Post Royal ⁹

In Holland there are no establish'd Posts. If a Person wants horses, he must make a private agreement for them. In the Dominions of the Emperor you pay 3. schellings, (near 2. shillings sterling) for each horse per post and commonly 2. schellings to the Guide, and in France you pay 1. Livre 5. Sols. per post for each horse, and to the Postillions commonly 15. sols, altho' their due is no more than 5.

¹ Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1736–1818), later a strong supporter of the monarchy at the time of the French Revolution (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

² Louis Henri, Duc de Bourbon, afterward Prince de Condé (1692–1740), usually known as Monsieur le Duc, who served as French prime minister until 1726 (same).

³ Henri I, Duc de Montmorency (1534–1614), whose family intermarried with the Condés, was created constable of France by Henry IV in 1593 (same).

⁴ Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé

(1621–1686), important 17th-century commander of the French army (same).

⁵ Uur, a Dutch league, equivalent to the distance traveled in an hour. Two such measurements were in use in Holland at this time, one, "20000 anciens pieds d'Amsterdam," or 3.5 English miles, and the other, "20000 pieds de Rhin," the more likely unit, equal to 3.9 English miles (Horace Doursther, *Dictionnaire universel des poids et mesures anciens et modernes, contenant des tables des monnaies de tous les pays*, Brussels, 1840; repr., Amsterdam, 1965, p. 209–210).

⁶ In the margin: "Here you enter the Emperor's Dominions."

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⁷ In the margin: "A Post is 6. English Miles."

⁸ In the margin: "Just before you come to Valenciennes you enter into the Dominions of the King of France."

⁹ In the margin:

Post Royal

"A l'entrée et a la sortie des lieux ou le Roi fait son sejour momentanément la premiere Poste se paye double: mais a

compter seulement de l'heure Le minuit qui suit le jour ou le Roi est arrivé, et jusqu'à minuit après le jour qu'il est parti. (Ordonnance du 25. Juillet 1739.)

A l'entrée et a la sortie des Villes de Paris, de Versailles et Lyon, Même pendant l'absence du Roi, la premiere post se paye double. (Ord: des 8. Dec: 1738 et 28 Nov. 1756.)

Extracts from the Post Book."

AUG. 10TH. SUNDAY.

This morning, at about 10 o'clock, I accompanied my Father to Passy, to see Dr. Franklin whom I knew already, and Mr. Jay, the american Minister at Madrid, whom I had never seen before; they were at breakfast and had a great deal of Company. Mr. Jay and my Father took a walk in the Garden and had a Conversation upon politicks, which, is of no Necessity here.¹ From thence we went to Auteuil; to see Mr. Barclay,² the American Consul-General in France, but found he was gone, and therefore we saw only Mr. Ridley.³ The House where they are is a very fine one; but, above all there is in it, one thing, which is very curious. It is a small octogonal room with a bath in the middle of it, and in every one of the eight corners of it is a Looking-glass. The ceiling, is also made of a Looking-glass; so that a person can see himself in more than thirty different positions in it. The garden is a small and pretty one filled with fruit Trees; we took a walk in it. Mr. Ridley told me that Sammy Cooper Johonnot and Ben. Bache, two of my old schoolmates here had returned from Geneva, where they have been for some time, and that Sam Cooper is gone to Nantes.

¹ JQA probably means, as is hinted in the following entry, that at this time political discussions were of no interest to him.

² Thomas Barclay, a merchant from Philadelphia, American consul in France from 1781, and consul general there from 1783; he was also a partner in the firm of Barclay & Moylan at Lorient. Barclay also rented the Hôtel de Rouault at Auteuil, in which JA and JQA occupied an apartment, 22 Sept.–20 Oct., following the execution of the Definitive Treaty, and to which JA brought his family the following

summer (entries for 22 Sept., 20 Oct., below; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:143–144, 171; JCC, 20:698; 24:3; Jefferson, *Papers*, 11:496; Howard C. Rice Jr., ed., *The Adams Family in Auteuil, 1784–1785* . . ., MHS Picturebook, Boston, 1956).

³ Matthew Ridley, a Maryland merchant and agent for the state appointed to obtain a loan in Europe (Herbert E. Klingelhofer, "Matthew Ridley's Diary during the Peace Negotiations of 1782," WMQ, 3d ser., 20:95–98 [Jan. 1963]).

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AUG. 11TH. MONDAY.

This morning Mr. Hartley¹ the British Minister for making Peace, came to pay a visit to my Father, but as he was out he desired to see me. I had some Conversation with him. He says he hopes the Peace will be soon signed. In the afternoon I went with my Father to Passy, and saw there Dr. Franklin and Mr. and Mrs. Jay. I also renewed my acquaintance with young Mr. Bache.

We went at the same time to see the Abbés Chalut and Arnould² two gentlemen of letters, with whom my Father has been familiarly acquainted ever since his first arrival in Europe. We found with them the Abbé de Mably,³ famous for being the author of a work entitled *Le Droit public de l'Europe*; and of another entitled *principes des Negociations*, and the Abbé le Monnier⁴ who has given to the world an elegant French Translation of Terence's Comedies. As the general Turn of the Conversation was upon Politicks; there was nothing in it, necessary to be transcribed here.

¹ David Hartley the younger (1732–1813), M.P. for Hull and opponent of the war with America, had been serving the Fox-North coalition since April as plenipotentiary to negotiate and sign the Definitive Treaty (DNB; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:303; 3:112–113).

² The Abbés Chalut and Arnoux taught JA French and advised him on book purchases (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:317; 4:60).

³ Gabriel Bonnot, Abbé de Mably, French publicist, historian, and philosopher, with the Abbés Chalut and Arnoux, was a regular visitor to the Adamses. The

two works to which JQA refers, *Des principes des négociations, pour servir d'introduction au droit public de l'Europe, fondé sur les traités*, The Hague, 1767, and *Le droit public de l'Europe, fondé sur les traités conclus jusqu'en l'année 1740 . . .*, Amsterdam, 1748, are among JA's books (*Catalogue of JA's Library*). For the significance of the JA-Mably friendship, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:315; 3:102, and the source cited there.

⁴ Guillaume Antoine Lemonnier's three-volume *Comédies de Térence* was published in Paris in 1770.

AUG. 12TH. TUESDAY.

This morning my Father went to Versailles. At half past 12. I met the Abbé Arnaud at the Thuilleries, and we walk'd together to Passy. I dined at the Abbé Chalut's there, in Company with the Abbé de Mably and some other Gentlemen. The Abbé has travelled thro' Poland, and talk'd a good deal about that Country. For the Climate he says that for the first fortnight in November it commonly snows there continually, and from that time untill the latter end of February, a continuation of very severe, colds.

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He has seen Reaumur's Thermometer at the degree of 28 below. 0. This is quite different from the weather at Petersburg. There, it snows every day more or less from the middle of November to the middle of January, and then commonly they have 3. weeks or a month of extreme colds. I have seen Réaumur's thermometer in Petersburg at 31. degrees below. 0. He also said something upon the Constitution of Poland, upon the Slavery of the people, the Tyranny of the Nobles, and the humiliations the Kings of Poland are obliged to undergo, and yet he said the Ambition of every one of the nobles was to be King. As they might expect it, because the Kingdom was Elective, and that they seldom choose, a King out of the Family of the preceding one, he said that in Poland the nobility had the vanity of desiring to be King, as the nobility in France, had the vanity of wishing to be a Duke. He says also that they could not Live in Poland without the Jews. T'was they who carried on all the commerce. The Nobility were too proud to engage in Commerce, the Slaves could not; every thing that was done there in that way, was done by the Jews, As there were very few other foreigners, who would chuse to settle in that Country. In the evening as my Father return'd from Versailles to Paris, he stopp'd at the Abbés, and took me in his Carriage. Mr. Hartley came and paid a visit to my Father; but it was intirely Political.

AUG. 15TH. FRIDAY.

This day I dined at Passy at Dr. Franklin's with a numerous Company. In the evening I went to the Comedy at the Bois de Boulogne. *Beverlei*¹ and *le Français a Londres*² were the plays represented. *Beverlei* is what the French call a *Tragedie bourgeoise*, as *Barnwell* in English.³ The Subject of it is, a Man addicted to gaming, who ruins himself by it, or rather is ruined by a villain who pretends to be his Friend; and at last puts an end to his Life by Poison. It was intended to set the passion of gaming in its worst Light but the execution has not answered its Purpose, for it seems to encourage, a still worse passion; I mean suicide. However that was not the author's intention. His design was very Laudable. *Le Français a Londres* is a Farce, calculated to show the difference of the French and English Characters and the author has carried both to a pleasing extravagance. I met at the Comedy, Mr. de Chaumont,⁴ whom I had not seen since I re-

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turned to Paris. He asked me a great many Questions, about Sweeden, Russia, Denmark, and all the Countries thro' which I have been.

¹ By Bernard Joseph Saurin, Paris, 1768 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

² By Louis de Boissy, first performed in Paris in 1727 (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

³ *The London Merchant: Or, The History of George Barnwell*, London, 1731, by George Lillo.

⁴ Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, strong French supporter of Amer-

ican independence, who speculated in contracts supplying the Continental army and outfitting the navy. He also was landlord of the Hôtel de Valentino, where Franklin maintained his residence rent-free from 1776 until his return to America in 1785 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:298).

AUG. 16TH. SATURDAY.

Dined at Mr. Brantsen's;¹ the Dutch Ambassadors, with a great deal of Company. In the evening I went to the French Comedy; the pieces represented were *Rhadamiste et Zenobie* a Tragedy by Crébillon² and *Le Français à Londres*. The author of the Tragedy is regarded as one of the best dramatick poets of France. His Tragedies are all very deep, indeed, they are so much so, that several of them miscarried at their first Representation, on that account. The French in general are not Lovers of Tragedy, and it is but lately, that they can bear any, which finishes with the Death of the Hero. The *Denouement* of this piece is a King, who discovers he has killed his own Son without knowing him. Rhadamistus is sent to the King of Iberia, as Ambassador from Rome, to complain to him; for his arming his People, and to tell him they suspect him. In the midst of his discourse to the King he says.

Rome de tant d'apprets qui s'indigne et se lasse
N'a point accoutumé les Rois à tant d'audace.³

When the actor pronounced those verses, they rose an universal applause; which lasted for some minutes.

¹ Gerard Brantsen, Dutch minister plenipotentiary to Paris, 1782-1787, who was appointed ambassador extraordinary plenipotentiary in 1782 to negotiate the terms of peace with Great Britain (*Reperitorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 263; Wharton, ed., *Dipl. Corr.*

Amer. Rev., 5:665).

² *Rhadamiste et Zénobie*, Paris, 1711, was the chief work of Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

³ Act II, scene ii, lines 7-8 (Crébillon, *Oeuvres. Nouvelle édition . . .*, 3 vols., Paris, 1772, 2:31, in JA's library at MB).

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AUG. 20TH. WEDNESDAY.

Dined at Passy with the Abbé de Chalut.

AUG. 21ST. THURSDAY.

This day My Father had a great Company to dine with him.¹

¹ The occasion for the dinner party is not known.

AUG. 22D. FRIDAY.

This forenoon at 11 o'clock, I went, in Company with My Lord Ancram, Mr. Stewart¹ and my father to see the Academy of the Abbe *L'épée*,² who has undertaken to teach, people born deaf and dumb, not only to converse with one another very fluently, but also, to read and write, and he has succeeded entirely. It is astonishing to see how fast and how easily they make themselves understood, to one another, and still, more so to see them write, whatever he pleases, by the signs he makes them; there is not a word in the French Language which he has not found some way of expressing, and making them understand. He does it all gratis and receives whoever chooses to come to his Lessons. When the present Emperor of Germany³ visited Paris this was what pleased him the most in the whole City. He sent afterwards his Picture set in Diamonds to the Abbé, and accompanied it with a Letter written with his own hand; praising this humane institution.

I Dined at the Duke de la Vauguyon's the French Ambassador at the Hague, here by *Congé*⁴ at present. In the Evening I went to the French Comedy, where were represented *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, and *La Maison de Campagne*;⁵ The first piece seems to be very Confused; all I could make of it was, that it was Calculated to show the foolishness and the wickedness of the Custom of Duelling: which have been shown many and many a Time; but always without effect and will be always so: as long as the laws which subsist about Duelling, have force in this Country. A Person here who fights a Duel is condemned to Death, and if any body is provoked and refuses to fight he is regarded as infamous, and if in the Army, he is broke and declared incapable of serving the King. This is exposing every one who is insulted by a scoundrel to the cruel alternative of infamy or Death.

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¹ William Kerr (1763–1824), Earl of Ancrum; Dugald Stewart, Scottish philosopher and professor at the University of Edinburgh (*The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant* by G[eorge] E[dward] C[okayne], ed. Vicary Gibbs and others, London, 1910–1959, 8:154–155; Benjamin Vaughan to JA, 8 Aug., Adams Papers; DNB).

² Charles Michel, Abbé de L'Épée, cel-

ebrated French philanthropist (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

³ Joseph II.

⁴ On leave.

⁵ Michel Jean Sedaine, *Le philosophe sans le savoir*, Paris, 1766, and Florent Carton Dancourt, *La maison de campagne*, Paris, 1691 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; Cioranescu, *Bibliographie du dix-septième siècle*).

AUG 23D. SATURDAY.

This morning I went and paid a visit to the Baron *de la Houze* the Minister of France at the Court of Denmark, who is here at present by *Congé*, and whom I had the honour of seeing at Copenhagen. He talked to me a great deal about America. He said he believed that France, England and Holland would carry on the greatest part of our Commerce; that the Nations of the North wanted a number of our Commodities, but had nothing but ready money (and very little of that) to give us in return. He said he believed that the population of America was equal to that of Sweeden and Denmark together; that he had made a Calculation, and that those two Kingdoms did not contain more than four millions of souls, that Denmark would never be more peopled, while the present Constitution lasted, for the whole Nation consisted of the Nobility and the Serfs: and that Nothing could discourage Population more than personal Slavery, that Sweeden it was true was not in that State; that the Peasantry were free, but that both the Population and the Finances of that Country had been exhausted, by the ruinous Wars of Charles the 12th. and their Consequences which were still felt in Sweeden, but that the Commerce of that Kingdom was increasing every day, and that it promised soon to be in a flourishing Condition, and in that Case, the Population would also increase. He then Spoke of the Duties which ships were obliged to pay for the passage of the Sound, he said it was an unjust tribute which all Nations were obliged to pay to Denmark, and it was the fault of the other Nations that suffered it. I asked him, how Denmark came by it, rather than Sweeden, the coasts of which are on the opposite Side. He said that all those coasts belonged formerly to Denmark when this imposition began, by some Dutch Ships having paid voluntarily a duty; and Denmark made herself a right of it,

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and have obliged every ship that passes to pay the duty; and altho' the province of Scania which forms the Coast on the other Side, has been since ceded to Sweeden still Denmark has kept up that right; besides, he said, there was another reason, which was that on the Sweedish side there were several sand banks, and the water was not deep enough for large vessells to pass over, so that they were obliged to pass very near the Danish side. He said it brought the King a revenue of about 6 millions of livres per annum: and that the expences of the fortress &c. mounted to about two millions.

24.

Comédie Italienne voyage de Rosine et Felix ou l'enfant trouvé.¹

¹ Pierre Antoine Augustin de Piis and Pierre Yves Barré, *Les voyages de Rosine*, Paris, 1783; *Félix, ou l'enfant trouvé*, Paris, 1777, by Michel Jean Sedaine, with music by Pierre Alexandre de Monsigny (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

25.

Comédie Italienne le bon ménage, et Blaise et Babet.¹ Mr. T-r returned.²

¹ Jean Pierre Claris de Florian, *Le Bon ménage, ou, la suite des deux billets*, Paris, 1783; *Blaise et Babet, ou, la suite des trois fermiers*, Paris, 1783, by Jacques Marie Boutet de Monvel, with music by Nicolas Dezède (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

² John Thaxter had decided to visit London while JA was away from Paris in Holland and just shortly before his own return to the United States (John Thaxter to John Thaxter Sr., 28 July, MHi:Thaxter Papers; JQA to Samuel Cooper Johonnot, 25 Aug., CtY:Beinecke Library).

AUG. 27TH.

This forenoon I went to see the Pictures which are exposed to view in the Gallery of the Louvre; there are some good paintings there amongst a great number of indifferent ones. After dinner I went to see the experiment, of the flying globe. A Mr. Montgolfier¹ of late has discovered that, if one fills a ball with inflammable air, much lighter than common air, the ball of itself will go up to an immense height of itself. This was the first publick experiment of it, at Paris. A Subscription was opened some time ago and filled at once for making a globe; it was of taffeta glued together with gum, and lined with parchment: filled with in-

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flammable air: it was of a spherical form; and was 14 foot size in Diameter. It was placed in the *Champ de Mars*. At 5. o'clock 2. great guns fired from the Ecole Militaire, were the signal given for its going, it rose at once, for some time perpendicular, and then slanted. The weather, was unluckily very Cloudy, so that in less than 2. minutes it was out of sight: it went up very regularly and with a great swiftness. As soon as it was out of sight, 2. more cannon were fired from the Ecole Militaire to announce it. This discovery is a very important one, and if it succeeds it may become very useful to mankind.

¹ The Montgolfier brothers, Joseph Michel and Jacques Etienne, had made the first successful unmanned balloon flight on 5 June 1783 (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

AUG. 28TH. THURSDAY.

The Journal de Paris of this day, says a great deal about the flying globe. It speaks of it as follows.

“L’experience ingenieuse que M. M. de *Montgolfier* ont fait à Annonay interesse assés pour qu’on ne soit pas surpris de l’empressement qu’on a mis à la repeter. A peine la souscription qui devoit en faciliter les moyens fut elle ouverte par M. Faujas de Saint Fond¹ et deux ou trois de ses amis, que le Public s’empressa de la remplir. Des Princes, des Ministres, les Academies, les Gens de Lettres, les Artistes envoyerent leur souscription; et l’ardeur generale prouva que si l’on présentait plus souvent aux Francois des experiences utiles ou brillantes, on leur trouverait le zele qu’on vante chez leurs rivaux.”

“M. Faujas fut chargé par l’assemblée des premiers Souscripteurs de diriger l’operation. On doit rendre justice à l’activité, à l’intelligence, à la chaleur qu’il mit a repondre à leur confiance. Il imagina d’employer le taffetas enduit de gomme elastique et l’air inflammable. Le gaz et l’enveloppe dont s’etoient servi M. M. de Montgolfier n’étant pas connus, Mr. Faujas instruit que M. M. Robert, jeunes Mecaniciens du premier merite, possedaient le secret de dissoudre la gomme elastique, eut recours à leur talent, à leurs lumieres. Mr. Charles² voulut bien se preter et contribuer aux diverses experiences qu’on fit chez lui.

Jusqu’alors on n’avoit observé l’air inflammable que dans les pistolets de Volta, dans des bouteilles de gomme elastique, dans des bulles de savon; il etait à craindre qu’un grand volume de matiere aussi subtile ne donnât des resultats dangereux. Il parut

prudent de n'assembler le Public qu'après quelques essais: ils furent faits, et tranquiliserent.

Le vingt trois, la machine s'éleva jusqu'au dessus des toits. L'affluence du peuple indiqua quelle serait sa curiosité le jour de l'expérience. On craignit que les barrières du terrain de M. M. Perrier ne fussent trop foibles: cette sage considération fit préférer le Champ de Mars. La nuit du 25 au 26. M. M. Robert et Mr. Charles ont poussé le zèle jusqu'à se charger de porter et de veiller eux mêmes la machine.

L'opération indiquée a eu lieu hier a cinq heures précises. Une mèche allumée a donné le signal, et deux coups de canon ont annoncé au Public le moment de l'expérience; Ils avoient aussi pour objet d'avertir les Observateurs, placés a différentes stations. Aussitôt après le signal, le Globe s'est élevé, et au bout de quelques minutes il a disparu. Deux autres coups de canon ont annoncé ce dernier moment, Le nuage qui eclipsait le Globe s'est dissipé, on la vu de nouveau. Son petit volume apparent a fait juger qu'il était à une hauteur considerable, et la circonstance du mauvais tems en aura sans doute rendu l'appréciation difficile. Des applaudissemens réitérés on eût de nouvelles preuves de l'intérêt du Public. On prie les personnes qui trouveront cette machine d'en donner avis au Bureau de ce Journal et d'en constater l'état autant qu'il sera possible.

Toute la gloire de cette découverte appartient à M. M. de Montgolfier; cette expérience n'a été faite, que pour la constater. Les Souscripteurs se croiront trop heureux si leur exemple excite a servir les Sciences et les Arts, en facilitant des épreuves trop coûteuses pour être faites par de simple particuliers.

Des esprits paresseux fatiguent de cette question: *A quoi tout cela mene 't'il?* On prendra la liberté d'ajouter à ce qu'on leur a déjà répondu, que le Sage ne presente les calculs de son imagination qu'après les avoir appuyés d'expériences qu'on n'a eu ni le tems ni la facilité de faire à l'aide du Globe aérostratique."

The following verses were also in the Journal de Paris of this day.

Sur le Globe Ascendant.³

¹ Barthélemy Faujas de Saint Fond, geologist and traveler (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

² Jacques Alexandre César Charles, physicist and aeronaut, who, with the Montgolfiers, tested a hydrogen-filled balloon at Champ de Mars on 2 Aug. and took

part in manned experiments several months later (same).

³ There follows a 62-line poem, omitted here, by Paul Philippe Gudin de la Brenellerie, dramatist, essayist, and occasional poet (same).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

AUG 29TH. FRIDAY.¹

The *Journal de Paris* of this day, speaks as follows of the flying globe.

“Nous venons d'apprendre que le Ballon, après avoir voyagé pendant trois quarts d'heure dans les regions de l'air et hors de la vue, est tombé à Gonesse, distant de Paris de quatres lieues; l'on y a reconnu une ouverture produite par l'explosion qui a dû se faire, lorsque ce Globe a atteint un air qui, lui opposant moins de resistance, a permis au gaz inflammable de réagir à son tour contre l'air atmosphérique. Cet accident ne seroit certainement pas arrivé, et l'on auroit eu le plaisir de jouir plus longtems de cette superbe experience et d'y appliquer les calculs, si l'on ne l'avait pas rempli d'une trop grande quantité de gaz. Plusieurs Savans Academiciens, et M. Faujas de S. Fond lui même etoient d'avis, avant l'operation de ne pas remplir le ballon en entier; mais une circonstance particuliere n'ayant pas permis à ces Messieurs dans l'enceinte, le ballon a été remplir sans combinaison et sans methode, et c'est ce qui a occasionné cet accident, qu'il serait injuste d'attribuer a M. Faujas de St. Fond, ni même à M. M. Robert. Lon doit dire aussi que le Public a été très étonné de ce qu'on n'a pas admis dans cette même enceinte M. *de Montgolfier* que le voeu general y appellait, et que tout ce qu'il y a de plus illustre dans la Nation desiroit de voir.”

¹ In D/JQA/7 for this day, JQA has written: “Opéra Alexandre aux Indes et la Rosiere ballet,” references to Étienne Morel de Chefdeville's *Alexandre aux Indes*, Paris, 1783, with music by Jean Nicholas Le Froid de Méreaux; and Maximilien

Joseph Léopold Philippe Gardel, *La rosière*, Paris, 1783, which were performed that day at the Académie Royale de Music (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; *Journal de Paris*, 29 Aug.).

SEPTEMBER. 2D. 1783.

Dined at Auteuil. French Comedy: le Joueur et le Retour imprévu.¹

¹ Jean François Regnard, *Le joueur*, Paris, 1697, and *Le retour imprévu*, Paris, 1700 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; Cioranescu, *Bibliographie du dix-septième siècle*).

3.

Signature of the Definitive Treaty.¹

¹ Unable to make any appreciable progress with their negotiations since the signing of the Preliminary Treaty on 30

Nov. 1782, the British ministry and American commissioners finally accepted those preliminary articles, with some changes,

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at Hartley's lodgings in the Hôtel d'York on this day (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:142; Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemak-*

ers: The Great Powers and American Independence, N.Y., 1965, p. 461–465, 548, 552).

4.

Dined at Mr. Hartley's.

7.

C. Ital: Blaise et Babet,¹ a la Clochette.²

¹ See entry for 25 Aug., note 1 (above).

² *La clochette*, Paris, 1766, by Louis Anseaume, with music by Egide Romuald Duni (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

9.

Diné à Passi. C. Ital: Jeannot et Colin, l'heureuse Erreur et les Vendangeurs.¹

¹ Florian, *Jeannot et Colin*, Paris, 1780; Joseph Patrat, *L'heureuse erreur*, Paris, 1783; Pierre Antoine Augustin de Piis and Pierre Yves Barré, *Les vendangeurs, ou, les deux baillis*, Paris, 1780 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

10.

Diné à Auteuil. Eclipse totale de la Lune.

11.

C. Ital: Blaise et Babet¹ et Isabelle et Gertrude.²

¹ This was the third time JQA had seen this musical comedy in less than three weeks.

² *Isabelle et Gertrude, ou, les sylphes supposés*, Paris, 1765, by Charles Simon Favart, with music by Adolphe Blaise (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

13.

C. Fr: Mercure galant et Partie de Chasse de Henri 4.¹

¹ Edme Boursault, *Le mercure galant, ou, la comédie sans titre*, Paris, 1679; Charles Collé, *La partie de chasse de Henri IV*, Paris, 1766 (Cioranescu, *Bibliographie du dix-septième siècle*; Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

14.

Fete de S: Cloud.¹ Diné entre là et Auteuil. M: T—r parti.²

Diary of John Quincy Adams

¹ An annual festival held on the grounds of the royal palace of St. Cloud (*Journal de Paris*, 4 Sept. 1785).

² John Thaxter left for Philadelphia, carrying with him the Definitive Treaty with Great Britain, and the original Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the Netherlands, the latter signed at The

Hague on 8 Oct. 1782 (JA to Benjamin Rush, and to the President of Congress [Elias Boudinot], both 14 Sept., LbC, Adams Papers; Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, 8 vols., Washington, 1931-1948, 2:59-90).

16.

Variétés Amusantes Foire St. Laurent.¹

¹ An annual fair held from July to September (Jacques Antoine Dulaure, *Histoire civile, physique et morale de Paris* . . . , 10 vols., rev. and corr., Paris, 1825, 8:199-203; *Almanach royal*, 1783, p. 628).

SATURDAY SEPTR. 20TH.

The enthusiasm of the People of Paris for the flying Globes is very great, several Propositions have been made from Persons, who to enjoy the honour of having been the first Travellers through the air, are willing to go up in them and run ten risques to one of breaking their necks: one of the queerest propositions, is the following one taken from the *Journal de Paris* of Yesterday.

À Messieurs les Navigateurs Aériens.

Je partage avec vous Messieurs, le désir de voyager dans les airs, et je crois devoir vous faire part de la première idée que m'a fait naître l'élevation du Globe Aérostatique au Champ de Mars. Je désirerois en qualité d'Amateur des Beaux Arts que la grace de la machine fut jointe à la facilité des mouvemens, et à la sûreté du voyageur; cela m'a fait croire que la forme la plus heureuse seroit celle du Cheval Pegasse, d'une grandeur beaucoup plus forte, sans doute que Nature.

Son corps servirait de recipient au gaz; sa tête, les crins en avant, feroit l'office de la proue; ses ailes modereraient l'élevation et détermineroient la vitesse; sa queue seroit le gouvernail; et les quatre pieds, dans l'attitude d'un cheval qui galope, chargés dans leurs extrémités d'un corps pesant, proportionné au reste de la machine, serviroient de lest, et assureroient au Cavalier Aérien une attitude constante. Tout seroit construit avec une légère carcasse de baleine recouverte d'un taffetas enduit de gomme élastique.

On devine aisément la place d'une soupape qui s'ouvrant à la

volonté du Navigateur, laisseroit echapper promptement, par le rapprochement de ses genoux, une portion du gaz et tempereroit la legerete du Cheval dans le cas ou il voudroit s'emporter par de lá les nués.

Je joins ici un Croquis de mon idee

J'ai l'honneur d'être &c. *περσηϊθ*.¹

Note des Redacteurs

Ayant reçu, de la part de l'Amateur, la planche gravée, nous avons cru faire plaisir à nos Souscripteurs, en eu faisant tirer le nombre d'exemplaires suffisant pour joindre à chaque feuille de ce Journal."

This is nearly a Copy of the print which was with the Journal de Paris.²

As this discovery is a very important one, it is worth while to collect every good thing that has any Relation to it, the following are some verses upon the Subject, also printed in the Journal de Paris of yesterday.

Les Prodiges des Sciences et des Arts.³

Yesterday a ballon Aërostatique, was sent up from Versailles, the following is the account given of it in the Journal de Paris of this day.

"L'experience dont nous avons parlé dans nôtre feuille d'avant hier a été faite hier dans la premiere Cour du Chateau de Versailles, au milieu d'un concours prodigieux de Spectateurs. On tira une premiere boite à une heure après midi, pour annoncer le moment de l'introduction du gaz dans la Machine; une seconde boite indiqua celui ou elle fut remplie, sous les ordres de M de Montgolfier. Cette operation dura dix minutes ou environ. Une troisieme boite annonça l'instant ou l'on coupa les cordes qui la retenaient pour la livrer à elle même. Elle s'enleva aussitôt, et produisit sur tous les spectateurs une espee d'admiration par son volume imposant. On avoit attaché à la partie inferieure de ce Ballon, un panier d'osier, dans lequel etoient un mouton un canard et un coq, et au dessous, un barometre. L'ascension de cette machine paroît avoir été d'environ deux cent toises; le vent d'ouest l'a forcé à prendre un cours horison-tal qui a dure vingt-sept secondes, après quoi elle a commence à decliner plus sensiblement, et a fini par tomber dans le bois de Vaucresson, au lieu appellé le Carrefour-Maréchal, distant d'une demi lieue du point de son depart. M. Pilatre de Rozier, y est arrivé le premier; il a trouvé le Ballon separé du panier ou

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etoient les animaux par un amas de bois coupé. Le mouton mangeoit dans sa cage; le canard et le coq paroissoient n'avoir point souffert, et le baromètre étoit renversé sans fracture."

¹ That is, descended from Perseus (Charles Du Fresne Du Canage, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*..., Lyons, 1688, repr., Graz, 1958).

² Pasted into D/JQA/8 on p. 30 is a pencil sketch, approximately 3" × 4", traced from the original printed one, of a winged

horse and rider which appeared as an insert in the *Journal de Paris*. The original is laid in between p. 30 and 31.

³ Here follows a forty-line poem, omitted here, by Michel de Cubières (known as Cubières-Palmézeaux) (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

MONDAY SEPTR. 22TH.

This morning (as my Father has been for some days very ill and the Country air being thought necessary for him) we removed from Paris to Auteuil at Mr. Barclay's.¹ The flying Globes are still much in Vogue: they have advertised a small one of eight inches diameter, at 6 livres a piece without air and 8 livres with it, but it has been carried so far that several accidents have happened to persons who have attempted to make inflammable air, which is a dangerous operation, so that government have prohibited them.

¹ Less than three weeks after the signing of the Definitive Treaty, the Adamses moved from Paris into the lodgings of Thomas Barclay at Auteuil so that JA

might recover from a debilitating fever. They remained there until 6 Oct. (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:142-144; entry for 10 Aug., note 2, above).

24.

Mme. Ridley accouchée.¹

¹ Ann Richardson, whom Matthew Ridley married in England in 1775, gave birth to a son, Lucius, on this day. They were also living in the house of the Comte de Rouault at Auteuil to which they had moved for the sake of Mrs. Ridley's health

(Herbert E. Klingelhofer, "Matthew Ridley's Diary during the Peace Negotiations of 1782," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 20:95 [Jan. 1963]; Matthew Ridley, *Journals*, 24 Sept. 1783, MHi:Matthew Ridley Papers).

26.

Diné chés M: Franklin.

30.

Départ de M. Barclay.

September–October 1783

OCTOBER. 17. 1783.

Diné chez M: l'Abbé de Chalut.

MONDAY OCTOBER 20TH. 1783.¹

Left Auteuil, with my Father, for London,² at about 9 o'clock in the morning; rode 9 1/2 posts as far as St. Just and stopp'd for the night. We dined at Chantilly.

¹ First entry in D/JQA/9, which covers the period 20 Oct.–6 Dec., but lacks entries for 27 Oct.; 5, 19, 22, 27–28 Nov.; and 3–4 Dec. This Diary booklet, measuring approximately $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$, consists of nine sheets of folded paper to create 36 pages, only 17 of which were eventually used by JQA. The booklet is accompanied by a thinner sheet of paper, folded over like the booklet, though somewhat shorter and wider, which is laid in at the end of diary entries for 1783. With some gaps, it contains entries for 8 Aug.–11 Sept. 1784.

² While resting in Auteuil, JA gradually recovered from his fever, but was still "extremely emaciated and weak." He was urged by his friends and doctor to travel to England and take the waters at Bath. By mid-October he had decided upon a stay there of six weeks. During all this time

JQA kept up with some of his studies. He began translating Caesar's *Commentaries* (M/JQA/44, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 239), probably continued to translate some of Horace's Odes (M/JQA/42, same, Reel No. 237), a task begun under the tutelage of Dumas, and copied various pieces of English poetry from William Enfield's highly popular anthology and elocutionary book, *The Speaker, or Miscellaneous Pieces, Selected from the Best English Writers . . .*, London, 1774 (M/JQA/43, same, Reel No. 238). Most of his time, however, was probably spent as secretary to his father, who commented that JQA wrote in "a good hand very fast, and is very Steady, to his Pen and his Books" (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:142–144; *Book of Abigail and John*, p. 364).

TUESDAY. 21ST.

Set away from St. Just at about 7 1/2 o'clock; dined at Amiens; the Capital of the Province of Picardy: stopp'd at Abbeville; after having rode 11. posts.

WEDNESDAY 22D.

In our Carriage at 6 o'clock, went 9 posts before dinner. Dined at Boulogne. Arrived at Calais at about 7 1/2 o'clock having rode 13. posts. Lodged at Monsr. Dessein's: Hotel d'Angleterre.¹

¹ Pierre Quillacq, or M. Dessein (or Dessin) as he was called, gained a great reputation from Laurence Sterne's allusions to him and his hotel in *A Sentimental*

Journey through France and Italy (AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:8; *A Sentimental Journey*, ed. Gardner D. Stout, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, p. 87, 336–338).

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THURSDAY 23D [— FRIDAY. OCTR. 24TH.].

This morning at 10 o'clock we went on board the Packet Boat; for Dover. We got out of the harbour with a great deal of difficulty as the wind was quite Contrary, but as soon as we were out a Calm came on which lasted till about 11. o'clock at night. Some wind then arose which brought us near the Port of Dover: at about 2 in the morning; but the wind being very strong; we were obliged to go on board a Pilot Boat: which put us on shore at about 3: in the morning of Friday. Octr. 24th.

Stay'd all day at Dover; we went up on the top of one of the cliffs: they are extremely high: the weather was somewhat foggy, but upon a clear day; the view must be very extensive, out at sea; and the coasts of France (which are about 20 miles distant) must be very easily seen; and make a fine appearance. We saw upon this hill several sheep; much larger, than any I have ever seen in France, owing probably to the manner of keeping: the Land appears more covered with verdure, and richer than that of France; this, my father thinks, is entirely owing to the different cultivation, as the soil seems to be the same here as that on the other side.

SATURDAY. OCTR. 25.

We set away from Dover in a post chaise and pair; went through Canterbury; the chief see of all England. We were told there was a curious¹ Cathedral there but had not time to go to see it. We dined at Rochester: a considerable city: 43 miles distant from Dover. We arrived at Dartford at about 4 1/2 and stopp'd there for the Night.

¹ JQA's probable connotation here is "interesting" or "noteworthy" (OED).

SUNDAY OCTR. 26TH.

We came away from Dartford at about 8. o'clock; and arrived at London at about 11: the distance from Dover is. 72, miles: we took up Lodgings at *Osborn's Adelphi Hotel John Street; in the Strand*.¹

¹ Osborne's Hotel was in the Adelphi Buildings, extending from the Strand to the Thames, which were constructed in 1768 by the Adam brothers and used as

dwelling and warehouses; John Street, off the Strand, was created by this development (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*; Walter Harrison, *A New and Univer-*

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sal History, Description and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, The Borough of Southwark, and Their Adjacent Parts

. . ., London, 1775, p. 525 and illustration facing that page).

TUESDAY. 28TH.

The forenoon we went to see the Monuments in Westminster Abbey: we saw a great Collection of tombs of Kings, Heroes, Statesmen, and Poets. There are some very ancient monuments: a number of figures in wax and the chairs in which the kings and Queens of England are crowned: they are said to be more than 1400. years old: we had not time to examine very attentively this building: and shall probably pay it another visit: At 6 o'clock. P.M. I went to the Drury Lane Théâtre, where was represented the Tragedy of *Hamlet*, with the Citozen.¹ I must confess; I do not think they act Tragedy so well here as in Paris: the Tragedy was not acted, as I expected it would be: there is I think something like affectation; throughout the actors. They lay an emphasis upon almost every word; yet in some places they speak, both too low and too slow. For Instance, when the Ghost first appears to Hamlet he starts and cries out

“Angels and ministers of Grace defend us,” &c.

and speaks a speech of about 20 lines: which the actor is *<above>* full a quarter of an hour delivering; continually in the same situation; which makes the action of the stage languish a great deal. As for the small piece they play'd that, I think as well as they do in France, but if I judge by this one play they do not equal the French in Tragedy.

¹ *The Citizen*, by Arthur Murphy, was published in 1763 (*Biographia Dramatica*).

WEDNESDAY 29TH.

Took private lodgings; at Mr. Stockdale's,¹ opposite Burlington House Piccadilly.

¹ John Stockdale, London publisher and bookseller, became a long-time friend and correspondent of JA and later of JQA. He began shortly hereafter to publish works of American authors, including a

reprint of John Almon's edition of JA's Novanglus letters, *History of the Dispute with America* . . ., in London, 1784 (DNB; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:149, 189, 313–314).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

THURSDAY 30TH.

This forenoon I went with some Gentlemen and Ladies to dine out of town. We pass'd over Westminster Bridge and Black Friars, and went through Islington, over High gate hill, to Ham[p]ste[a]d; where we dined. The appearance of the Land on this [road?] is extremely rich, and at this time of year, the verdure is nearly as great, as it is in France in the Month of May. The Prospect is said to be the finest near London. It is very beautiful. We dined at the assembly house in Hamsted, and returned into Town by a different Road from that out of which we went.

FRIDAY OCTR. 31ST.

Dined at Mr. Vaughan's:¹ in the evening we went to the Drury Lane Theatre, where *Isabella, or the Fatal marriage* and *the Irish Widow*,² were represented. Mrs. Siddons;³ supposed to be the first Tragick performer in Europe, play'd the part of Isabella. A young Lady, in the next Box to where we were, was so much affected by it as to be near fainting and was carried out. I am told that every Night Mrs. Siddons performs; this happens, to some persons. I never heard of anything like it, in France: Whether this proves there is more Sensibility here, that the Tragedies are deeper, or that they are better performed, is a problem. Perhaps all those Reason's may be given.

¹ Probably William or Benjamin Vaughan, sons of Samuel Vaughan, a London merchant, and Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston. The younger Vaughans were sympathetic to the American cause, and several later resettled in America; Benjamin, as secretary to Lord Shelburne, was instrumental in obtaining concessions for the American commissioners in 1782 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:54; *Early Recollections of Robert*

Hallowell Gardiner, 1782-1864, Hallowell, Maine, 1936, p. 118; entries for 6 Nov. 1783, 2 Oct. 1788, below).

² David Garrick, *Isabella; or, The Fatal Marriage*, London, 1757; and *The Irish Widow*, London, 1772, also by Garrick (*Biographia Dramatica*).

³ Mrs. Sarah Siddons had made her triumphal return to the London stage the previous year in this role (DNB).

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 1. 1783.

This morning I went with Mr. W. Vaughan to see the Paintings of Mr. Pine,¹ and Mr. Copley, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Death of the Earl of Chatham, by Mr. Copley, is the most Remarkable of the Paintings We saw; it is very Beautiful. We went also to see Mrs. Wright's waxwork.² Dined at Mr. Bingham's.³

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¹ Robert Edge Pine was born in London and emigrated to Philadelphia in 1784 with the intention of executing an ambitious plan of American historical paintings and portraits of Revolutionary leaders (*DNB*).

² Mrs. Patience Lovell Wright, the American wax modeler and Revolutionary spy for America, who moved to England in 1772 and opened a popular waxworks in London (*DAB*).

³ William Bingham, Philadelphia banker, land speculator, and later U.S. senator. Bingham had come to Europe, for business and pleasure, with his wife, Ann Willing, and remained there until 1786, seeing much of the Adamses at The Hague, Paris, and London. JQA found Bingham “very ignorant, very vain and very empty” (*JA, Diary and Autobiography*, 3:149; entry for 18 April 1785, below).

SUNDAY NOVR. 2. 1783.

I went this forenoon to take a view of St. Paul’s Church, which is the largest, and most magnificent Protestant church now standing and excepting St. Peter’s at Rome the largest in the World. But we could not get into it, because on Sundays it is open only in Service time; and we were there between services, so we saw only the outside of it. It was built of a whitish stone, but the lower Parts of it are now of a brownny, smoaky Colour, occasioned by the smoke of the City; they say this gives it a Venerable appearance; but for my Part I think it would look much better in its first Colour. Several gentlemen dined with us.

MONDAY NOVR. 3. 1783.

Went in the Evening to the theatre, Drury Lane where *Measure for Measure*, with the *Apprentice*¹ were represented. Mrs. Siddons play’d the part of Isabella in *measure for measure*, because it had been said, she could not speak Shakespeare’s lines; and that she could not play in Comedy; for the first part she prov’d the contrary; as she play’d extremely well, but the critics say she has not yet play’d in Comedy; as the Character of Isabella has nothing Comick in it; in this play; and the piece itself Notwithstanding it’s ending well, being more a Tragedy than a Comedy.

¹ By Arthur Murphy, London, 1756 (*Biographia Dramatica*).

TUESDAY NOVR. 4TH.

This forenoon we went with Messrs. Jay, Bingham, and W. Vaughan, to see the Holophusicon, or Sir Ashton Lever’s¹ Museum; there is an immense Collection, of all sorts of Natural History; But the most Compleat part is that of the birds, of

Diary of John Quincy Adams

which he has between three and four thousand; they are extremely Curious; and worth more examination than we had time to give to them. But besides this he has a Room full of curiosities all collected in the Countries which were discovered in the last Voyage of Captn. Cook. There are a Number of their Idols made of Wood: others of feathers of bird: and also a kind of Robe which their Chiefs put on upon certain occasions, made of birds feathers, their cloths and their war instruments, and their fishhooks with the ropes. All these things are very curious, and for the most part, they are very ingeniously done, and show those People had arrived at a certain degree of Civilization. Their Ropes are made as well as any in Europe, and their fishhooks tho' of stone are very well made. From Sir Ashton Lever's we went to the British Museum: which is much more extensive, and Comprehends all sorts of Curiosities. 1. a Library of printed books. 2. a Library of Manuscript Books. 3. Antiquities. 4. Coins and Medals and 5. Natural History. For this Last article, Sir Ashton Lever's Collection is much more perfect: but among the others' there are some very curious things, particularly in the Manuscripts. We saw some original Letters of Henry the 8th. and the ensuing Kings and Queens of England to Charles the 1st. Letters also of Oliver Cromwell, and Pope's first Rough transcript of the Iliad. There are many more very Curious things in this Place, but we had not time to examine them attentively.

¹ Sir Ashton Lever, English collector and naturalist, founded his museum of natural history, the Holophusikon, in Leicester Square in 1774 (*DNB*).

THURSDAY NOVR. 6TH. 1783.

This day, being Term day,¹ we went, with Mr. Jennings, and saw the procession of the Lawyers, and Judges to Westminster Hall; and we saw the four Courts; the Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, and Exchequer, all sitting. Dined at M: W. Vaughan's.

¹ That is, the beginning of Michaelmas Term, one of four yearly sessions of English courts of law.

FRIDAY NOVR. 7TH.

In the forenoon I went with M: W. Vaughan; and saw the Pantheon;¹ a place of public entertainment; it is only remarkable for

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one Room which is very large and elegant. We went also to see the Cathedral of St Paul's; the largest Protestant Church, extant. It is very magnificent on the outside; but the inside is by no means extraordinary; there is one thing which they say is to be met with no where else. It is a gallery which is about 100 yards in circumference. If a Person whispers in it: what he says is as distinctly heard on the opposite side as if the person was near. It is called the whispering gallery: we went up to the top of the Church, from which we had a very fine view of the City. From thence went to the academy of arts in the Adelphi; to see a Series of Paintings, by a Mr. Barry; representing the Progress of Society, in six different Pictures.²

Dined at Mr. Copley's.

¹ Originally a theater and public promenade, the Pantheon on Oxford Street was redesigned by James Wyatt and reopened in 1772; the renovated building was noted chiefly for its promenade in the rotunda (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*).

² JQA has confused the Royal Academy of Arts, whose exhibition room was in the New Somerset House, up the Strand from the Adelphi Buildings, with the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, which was located at the Adelphi. James Barry's major work, the *Progress of Society*, which portrayed in six pictures illustrating the cultivation of

"human faculties" in the civilization of mankind, was exhibited in the Great Room of the Society of Arts (Walter Harrison, *A New and Universal History Description and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, The Borough of Southwark and Their Adjacent Parts . . .*, London, 1775, p. 525; Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 3:272; *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis and others, New Haven, 1937- , 29:33; Ralph N. Wornum, ed., *Lectures on Painting by the Royal Academicians, Barry, Opie and Fusel*, London, 1848, p. 42-43).

SATURDAY NOVR. 8. 1783.

Went with Mr. West¹ to see the Queen's Palace called Buckingham House; from its having been built by Villiers: Duke of Buckingham;² in the first Chamber, are the famous Cartoons of Raphael; which were Painted on Paper to be taken on Tapestry; at Brussels; there are 7. of them; they represented several of the Acts of the apostles; the name of the Painter makes it unnecessary to say, in what manner they are executed. In another Room we saw a Number of Paintings of Vandyk, among which was a Picture of Charles the 1st. on horseback; a striking likeness and an admirable Picture. Another Room full of Pictures of Rubens—a Room decorated by Paintings of Mr. West: among which are, the death of General Wolfe, of the Chevalier Bayard; and of Epaminondas, Regulus coming out of the Senate, and Hannibal, swearing eternal enmity to the Romans.³ The Kings Library, in

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which there are 90. folio volumes of Maps. His private model chamber—this is very curious. There are the models of all the ships in the Kings service, of all the dock yards, and fortifications: and an exact model of the fortress of Gibraltar. These are the Principal curiosities in this House; tho' there are a great many other things in it, worth seeing. Dined at Mr. Roger's.⁴

¹ Benjamin West, the leading American-born neoclassical painter.

² Buckingham House was built by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and of Normanby, not George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham. It was subsequently sold to George III in 1762 (Compton Mackenzie, *The Queen's House*, London, 1953, p. 10-12).

³ The West paintings, commissioned by

George III, are listed in John Galt, *The Life of Benjamin West*, London, 1816-1820, repr., Gainesville, Fla., 1960, p. 207.

⁴ Daniel Denison Rogers, a Boston merchant, who was traveling in Europe with his wife "in Hopes of reestablishing her Health" (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:348; Samuel Cooper to JA, 22 July 1782, Adams Papers).

SUNDAY [9TH.]

Dined at Dr. Jebbs.¹

¹ John Jebb, doctor of medicine, encyclopedic scholar, and a thoroughgoing supporter of America from the outset of the quarrel between England and her colonies. JA described him as a man "for whom I have the highest Esteem; as one of

the best Citizens of the little Commonwealth of the just upon Earth" (Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman . . .*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 370-372; JA to John Stockdale, 31 Jan. 1784, LbC, Adams Papers).

MONDAY NOVR. 10TH.

Went to the Covent Garden Theatre. King Henry VIII. and the Lord Mayor's day, or a flight to Lapland; with the Grand Procession. Lord Mayor's day.¹

¹ The day of the lord mayor of London's inauguration, held usually every 9 Nov., is marked with a pageant known as the Lord Mayor's Show. JQA saw *Lord Mayor's Day; or, A Flight from Lapland*, a speaking pantomime, originally produced in 1782, representing this show, with songs and dia-

logue added by John O'Keeffe. The "Grand Procession" was the afterpiece, advertised as "an Historical Procession of the Several Companies with their respective Pageants" (*Biographia Dramatica*; Hogan, ed., *London Stage, 1660-1800*).

TUESDAY NOVR. 11TH.

This day the Parliament met for the first Time; the Prince of Wales¹ took his seat in the House of Peers, as duke of Cornwall, the King also made his most gracious speech from the Throne: All the Peers were in their Robes which are scarlet and white; the Kings, and the Prince of Wales's were of purple velvet.

November 1783

¹ George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), Prince Regent, 1811–1820, and afterward King George IV.

WEDNESDAY NOVR. 12TH. 1783.

Went to the Drury Lane Theatre; the pieces represented were, the *West Indian* and *Fortunatus*.¹

¹ *The West Indian*, London, 1771, by Richard Cumberland; *Fortunatus*, an unpublished pantomime, by Henry Woodward, originally produced in 1753 (*Biographia Dramatica*).

THURSDAY NOVR. 13TH.

Dined at Mr. J. Johnson.¹ In the evening we went to see the Transactions of the Royal Society; but unluckily we happened to come on a very barren Night: nothing was read, except a dry, unphilosophical account of the late Earthquake in Calabria:² after which we went and supp'd with the *Club* at the London Coffee House.³

¹ Joshua Johnson (1742–1802), Maryland merchant, who undertook various commissions for the congress and his native state during and after the Revolution, and eventually served as U.S. consul in London, 1790–1797. He was the father of Louisa Catherine, JQA's future wife, who was eight years old at this time. On JQA's first trip to Europe he had met Johnson in Nantes, where the Johnsons were then living (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:300).

² "Account of the Earthquake in Calabria, March 28, 1783, In a Letter from Count Francesco Ippolito to Sir W[illiam]

Hamilton. From the Italian," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* . . ., abridged edn., ed. Charles Hutton and others, 15 (1809):373, 383–386.

³ Styled by Franklin, "the Club of Honest Whigs," it met fortnightly on Thursdays at the London Coffeehouse, Ludgate Hill. Its members were primarily dissenting clergymen and men of scientific interests, and it was frequented by visiting Americans (Verner W. Crane, "The Club of Honest Whigs: Friends of Science and Liberty," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 23:210–233 [April 1966]).

FRIDAY NOVR. 14TH.

Dined with Mr. Grierson. In the evening; we went to see Hughes's Royal Circus, or exercises of equitation, which are not equal to those performed by Astley at Paris which I saw some time ago.¹

¹ Both Charles Hughes and Philip Astley were English equestrian performers who set up rival shows (Raymond Toole-Scott, *Circus and Allied Arts: A World Bibliography, 1500–1970*, 4 vols., Derby, England, 1958–1971, 4:95; *DNB*).

SATURDAY NOVR. 15TH.

Dined at Mr. West's. In the evening I went to the Covent Garden Theatre, and saw Douglas, and the Poor Soldier:¹ Mrs.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

Crawford² appeared in the Character of Lady Randolph in Douglas.

¹ *Douglas*, London, 1757, by John Home; *The Poor Soldier*, a comic opera by John O'Keeffe, first produced on 4 Nov. (*Biographia Dramatica*; Hogan, ed., *London Stage, 1660–1800*).

née Street, whose Lady Randolph in *Douglas* was regarded as one of her two greatest characterizations. At this time she was known by her stage name, Mrs. Crawford (DNB).

² That is, Mrs. Ann Spranger Barry,

SUNDAY NOVR. 16TH.

Dined at Mr. Hartley's.

MONDAY NOVR. 17TH.

Dined at Mr. W. Vaughan's: spent the evening at Mr. Fitch's.

TUESDAY NOVR. 18TH.

Dined at Mr. Oswald's.¹

¹ Richard Oswald, the British peace commissioner who negotiated and signed the preliminary articles of peace with the United States on 30 Nov. 1782 (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:81–82).

THURSDAY NOVR. 20TH.

Dined at Mr. Rogers's.

FRIDAY NOVR. 21ST.

Dined with Mr. Fitch at the St. Albans Tavern.¹

¹ The Tavern, on St. Albans Street, Pall Mall, was renowned for political and fashionable dinners and meetings (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1:12).

SUNDAY. NOVR. 23D.

Dined with Mr. Champion.¹

¹ Probably Richard Champion, a Bristol ceramist and close friend of American Commissioner Henry Laurens after his release from the Tower. In 1782 Burke had Champion appointed to government office, in which capacity he established contact with other Americans. In 1784 he anonymously published *Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the*

United States of America . . ., urging free trade in American–West Indian commerce; a presentation copy is among JA's books at MB (Dixon Wecter, "An Unpublished Letter of George Washington," *S.C. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, 39:151–156 [Oct. 1938]; David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens . . .*, N.Y., 1915, p. 390–391; *Catalogue of JA's Library*).

November 1783

MONDAY NOVR. 24TH.

Genl. Roberdeau, and his Son¹ dined with us. In the Evening, we went with Mr. West to the Academy of Painting sculpture and Architecture:² we first went into a Room where there was a naked man standing and about 25 or 30 students taking his figure, either in drawing, or in plaister: afterwards we went and heard a very good Lecture upon Anatomy: these Lectures are Read every monday evening. After the Lecture we went into a Room, where were a Number of Casts from the most Remarkable Antique Statues. Some of the finest of which were 1. *Apollo Pythonem Jaculans*, Apollo is represented as just having shot his arrow at the serpent Pytho: it is a very much admired Statue. 2dly. the *Gladiator Repellens*. This Piece is very famous and casts of it are very Common. 3dly. the *Gladiator moriens*, where he is represented as sitting down, to die after receiving the Wound. 4th. An Hercules: or rather a fragment of an Hercules for the Head and neck, both the arms, and both the legs are lost—what Remains is said to be very fine by *Connoisseurs*. 5th. a *Venus de Medicis*. This is so well known all over the world as needs nothing to be said of it. 6th. a *Laocoon* which is perhaps, the finest of them all. It is supposed to be about 2500 years old; and Virgil is said to have taken his beautiful description from it. (*Aeneid Book. 2. verse. 200, et seq.*)³ The institution was made by the present king and, he made a present of Somerset House a very grand building to the Royal, and Antiquarian Societies⁴ and to the academy of Painting &c.

¹ Daniel Roberdeau, Philadelphia merchant and member of the Continental Congress, 1777–1779, who spent 1783–1784 traveling in Europe with his eldest son, Isaac. The Roberdeau and Adams families remained close friends for three generations (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 2:352–353; CFA, *Diary*, 2:132, 133, 135; 4:130–131 and *passim*).

² The Royal Academy of Arts.

³ Verses 201–227 (Virgil, *Works*, in *Latin and English . . .*, ed. Joseph Warton,

3d edn., 4 vols., London, 1778, 2:150–153, one of several editions JQA owned at this time, and now at MQA).

⁴ The Royal Society of London for the Advancement of Natural Science, chartered by Charles II in 1663 and given apartments in the new Somerset House in 1782, and the Society of Antiquaries of London, chartered by George II in 1751 and given apartments in 1781 (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*).

TUESDAY NOVR. 25TH.

Went to the Covent Garden Theatre, and saw the *Castle of Andalusia*, with the Devil upon two Sticks.¹

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¹ *Castle of Andalusia*, by John O'Keeffe, with music by Samuel Arnold, first performed in 1782; and Samuel Foote's highly successful comedy first produced in 1768 (*Biographia Dramatica*; Hogan, ed., *London Stage, 1660-1800*).

WEDNESDAY NOVR. 26TH.

Went again to the Covent Garden Theatre, and saw the Magic Picture with the Quaker.¹

¹ *The Magic Picture*, London, 1783, by Henry Bate Dudley; *The Quaker*, London, 1777, by Charles Dibdin (*Biographia Dramatica*; DNB).

SATURDAY NOVR. 29TH.

In the morning at about 9 o'clock, set out for Richmond which is 10. miles from London, and said to be the most Beautiful Spot in England, and perhaps in Europe. It is upon a hill, which Commands a vast plain in which Plain the River Thames runs winding about for a great ways *<in the midst>* of the Meadows, which even at this Time are covered with verdure.¹ Returned to Town to Dine.

¹ The purpose of the excursion, JA later recalled, was to visit former Massachusetts governor Thomas Pownall and Pennsylvania proprietor Richard Penn (*Diary and Autobiography*, 3:151).

SUNDAY. NOVR. 30TH.

Dined at Mr. Bingham's.

MONDAY DECR. 1ST. 1783.

This evening I went with Mr. West to the Academy of Painting &c. and had the same entertainment as that of which I spoke last Monday.

TUESDAY DECR. 2D.

This day my father dined out; in the evening I went to the Drury Lane Theatre, had the *Beaux Stratagem* with the *Ladies Frolick*.¹

¹ George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Strategem*, London, 1707; *The Ladies' Frolick*, London, 1770, by James Love, pseudonym for James Dance (*Biographia Dramatica*; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1600-1900*, 6 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1952-1959, 2:322; 3:283).

November 1783 – August 1784

FRIDAY DECR. 5TH. 1783.

In the evening I went to the Covent Garden Theatre, and saw the *Merchant of Venice*, with *Love a la Mode*;¹ a young Lady appeared for the first Time she play'd upon any Stage in the part of *Portia*.

¹ *Love à la Mode*, London, 1793, by Charles Macklin, first produced in 1760 (*Biographia Dramatica*; Hogan, ed., *London Stage, 1660–1800*).

SATURDAY. DECR. 6TH. 1783.

Dined at Mr. W. Vassal's¹ at Clapham.

¹ William Vassall, once a prominent Bostonian, now a loyalist refugee, whom JA later described as "one of my old friends and clients . . . a man of letters and

virtues, without one vice that I ever knew or suspected, except garrulity" (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 9:349–359; JA, *Works*, 10:214–215).

SUNDAY AUGUST 8TH. [1784].¹

Left London, travelled to Sittingbourne. 43. miles.

¹ In the latter part of Dec. 1783, JA and JQA traveled from London to Bath via Oxford, but were unable to remain long at the famous spa because of the unsettling news that the Dutch loan which JA had obtained the previous summer had been overdrawn. Although JA's health had improved little during his short stay in England, he and JQA left London on 2 Jan. 1784 for Amsterdam in order to secure another loan. They arrived at The Hague ten days later, after a long, exhausting, and disagreeable journey across the channel and a difficult trip, partially by foot, across the Dutch islands of Goeree and Over Flackee and then to the mainland by iceboat (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:151–154; JQA to Peter Jay Munro, 13, 16 Jan. 1784, NNMus).

During winter and spring at The Hague, JQA was "wholly devoted to his studies" and giving JA "intire Satisfaction" with his work (*Book of Abigail and John*, p. 374). In these months JQA completed a 237-page English translation of the *Aeneid* (M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240), a 462-page French translation of Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (M/JQA/44, same, Reel No. 239), and a 60-page French translation of

Tacitus' *Life of Gnaeus Julius Agricola* (same).

JQA's studies were interrupted by his trip to London in May 1784. For some time AA had entertained the hope of eventually joining her husband in Europe, but it was not until the completion of the Definitive Treaty and the prospect of termination by congress of JA's commission in the near future that JA wrote and insisted that she and AA2 join him and JQA as soon as they were able to come. Believing that AA and AA2 would take passage on John Callahan's ship, scheduled to sail in April 1784, JA sent JQA to London in May to meet his mother and sister. JQA's trip served a double purpose, as JA also wanted him to visit the House of Commons and the law courts. But as the weeks went on with no sign of the Adams women, JA impatiently recalled his son, remarking that "you have had a Taste of the Eloquence of the Bar and of Parliament: but you will find Livy and Tacitus, more elegant, more profound and Sublime Instructors, as well as Quincilian Cicero and Demosthenes" (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:156; *Book of Abigail and John*, p. 363–364; AA to JA, 3 Jan. 1784; Isaac Smith Sr. to JA, 13 March 1784; JQA to JA, 20 May, 1 June 1784; JA

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to JQA, 28 May, 21 June 1784, all in Adams Papers).

In late July, a month after JQA's return to The Hague, he and his father received word that AA and AA2 had arrived in London and were staying at Osborn's Adelphi Hotel. On 30 July, JQA was in London, and within a little more than a week the Adamses were joined by JA (William Vans Murray to JQA, 23 July; JQA to JA, 30 July; JA to JQA, 1 Aug., Adams Papers). The whole family soon left for Paris and Auteuil, where JQA was to remain until the following May, when he returned to America. Throughout the remainder of 1784, JQA continued with his

classical studies, making another English translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry* (M/JQA/45, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 240) and a 253-page English translation of Sallust's *History of Catiline* (M/JQA/27, same, Reel No. 222); possibly he continued his English translations of Tacitus (M/JQA/45, same, Reel No. 240), whose works he had begun earlier in the year. JQA's scattered and somewhat sketchy diary entries from this point until the end of the year, when he began a more complete day-by-day accounting of his activities, are supplemented in part by AA2's journal.

[9TH.]

Monday arrived at Dover and sailed for Calais.¹

¹ The trip from London to Paris is reported in fuller detail by AA2 (*Jour. and Corr.*, 1:7-14).

[10TH.]

Tuesday 5. A. M. arrived at Calais, in the afternoon took Post, and went as far as Boulogne, 4. Posts.

[11TH.]

Wednesday went from Boulogne to Amiens.

[12TH.]

Thursday, from Amiens to Chantilly.

[13TH.]

Friday, visited the curiosities at Chantilly.¹ Arrived at Paris.

¹ The Adamses visited the seat of the Prince of Condé and saw his kennel, stables, theater, and gardens (same, p. 11-14).

SUNDAY AUGUST 15TH. 1784.

Dined at Mr. Barclay's.

August 1784

MONDAY [16TH].

Dined at Mr. Hartleys.

TUESDAY [17TH].

Moved out to Auteuil.¹

¹ Over the course of the preceding four months, JA in correspondence with Thomas Barclay had made arrangements to rent the house in which he and JQA had obtained apartments shortly after the signing of the Definitive Treaty (entry for

10 Aug. 1783, note 1, above). The Hôtel de Rouault and the Adamses' life there are colorfully described by AA in Howard C. Rice Jr., ed., *The Adams Family in Auteuil, 1784–1785 . . .*, MHS Picturebook, Boston, 1956.

WEDNESDAY [18TH].

Coll. Humphreys¹ arrived.

¹ David Humphreys, a former aide-de-camp to Washington, was appointed on 12 May secretary to the Commission (which included JA, Franklin, and Jefferson) to

negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with foreign powers (*DAB*; *JCC*, 27:375). Humphreys later became known as one of the Hartford Wits.

[19TH.]

Thursday went into Paris shopping.

SATURDAY. [21ST].

Went to Paris. Gave Gregson a watch to repair. Am to have it again, Wednesday next.

SUNDAY AUGUST 22D.

Mr. Jefferson and his Daughter,¹ Coll: Humphreys, and Genl.
² dined with us.

¹ Martha Jefferson had only recently arrived with her father in Paris from America. She remained in France, attending school and studying French, until the end of Jefferson's diplomatic mission in 1789 (Edward T. James and others, eds., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1971).

² Left blank in MS. Probably Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who sailed from New York on 15 July and left Paris for Poland on 27 Aug. (AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:16; *Memorial Exhibition: Thaddeus Kosciuszko . . . Revealed in a Collection of Autograph Letters by Him . . . Being the Collection Formed by Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Kahanowicz*, N.Y., [1927], introduction, p. 3, text, p. 14).

[24TH.]

Tuesday morning. Went to Paris.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

[25TH.]

Wednesday dined at the Abbé de Chalut's.

THURSDAY [26TH].

Went to Gregson's for Watches. He was not at home.

[27TH.]

Friday dined with the Abbés at Passi.

SATURDAY [28TH].

We had a large Company to dine with us.¹

¹ The company included the Abbés Arnoux, Chalut, and Mably, Benjamin Franklin, David Hartley, and John Paul Jones (AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:17).

[30TH.]

Monday afternoon went into Paris. Subscribed for the Journal de Paris. Drank tea with Mrs. Valnais.¹

¹ Mrs. Joseph Dupas de Iden de Valnais, née Eunice Quincy (1760–1793), daughter of Henry Quincy (1727–1780) and distant cousin of JQA. Eunice married Valnais in 1781 while he served as

French consul in Boston. He was recalled to France shortly thereafter (*Descendants of Edmund Quincy*, comp. Holly, p. 8; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 14:667–670).

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 1ST.

Dined at Dr. Franklin's.

[2D.]

Thursday morning went into Paris.

FRIDAY [3D].

Mr. and Mrs. Mather,¹ and Mrs. Hay² dined with us. Went to the French Comedy and saw le mariage de Figaro.

¹ Samuel Mather and his wife, Margarette (Gerrish) Mather; he was the son of the Rev. Samuel Mather. Young Samuel had been chief clerk of the Boston customs office until he fled to England with the loyalists, but he returned to Massachu-

setts after his father's death (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 7:233).

² Mrs. Katharine Hay, wife of Capt. John Hay and daughter of Daniel Farnham, a tory lawyer in Newburyport. She was a traveling companion of the Mathers

August–September 1784

while in France (Thomas Aston Coffin to Mary Aston Coffin [Mrs. William Coffin], 21 March 1786, MHi:Thomas Aston Coffin

Coll.; Samuel Jr. to Rev. Samuel Mather, 7 May 1785, MHi:Samuel Mather Coll.; Currier, *Newburyport*, 2:258–260).

SATURDAY [4TH].

Dined with Mr. Jefferson. Went to the Italian Comedy in the Evening; had *la fausse magie*, and *Zemire et Azor*.¹

¹ *La fausse magie*, Paris, 1775, by Jean François Marmontel, with music by André Ernest Modest Grétry. The pair also collaborated on *Zémire et Azor*, Paris, 1771 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

[5TH.]

Sunday dined at Mr. Grand's¹ at Passy. Went after dinner to the *Chateau de la Muette*² and saw the Dauphin.

¹ Ferdinand Grand, the Paris banker of the American ministers, lived at La Chaise, Passy (MHS, *Procs.*, 54 [1920]:107–108).

² The Château de la Muette, originally a hunting lodge in the Bois de Boulogne, was rebuilt by Louis XV, and Louis XVI often resided there (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

[6TH.]

Monday Mr. Tracy¹ dined with us.

¹ Nathaniel Tracy had come to France via Cowes with Jefferson and his daughter Martha aboard his vessel *Ceres*, which had sailed from Boston in early July. His purpose was to settle claims against his firm;

his lack of success eventually contributed to his worsening financial plight (Jefferson, *Papers*, 7:363–364; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:250).

TUESDAY [7TH].

Dined at Mr. Tracy's and went in the evening to see *la métromanie*, and *Crispin Rival de son Maître*,¹ at the french Comedy.

¹ Alexis Piron, *La métromanie, ou, le poète*, Paris, 1738 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*). JQA had seen Le Sage's *Crispin* while living in St. Petersburg.

[10TH.]

Friday went into Paris in the afternoon.

SATURDAY [11TH].

[Had] Company to dine with us.¹

Diary of John Quincy Adams

¹ Following this last entry in D/JQA/9 are the following notations:
Wednesday Octr. 13th. first made a fire in my Chamber.
Filled my J. S. Decr. 4th. took 3. p:
March 20. 1785. no fire.

Paris.

J. Q. Adams.—1783.

Ephemeris.

Volume. 1.¹

From January 1st. 1785. to June 30th. 1786

La Mol[l]esse est douce, et sa suite est cruelle.²

Voltaire.

1785.

¹ Titlepage for D/JQA/10, covering the inclusive dates mentioned, with only occasional gaps. The top line on this and the following page are written in an earlier hand, presumably the date on which he purchased the blank book. The same inscription appears on the top of the titlepages of D/JQA/11 and 12, which are iden-

tical 380-page leather-bound books all measuring $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$.

² Indolence is sweet and its consequence is bitter (Voltaire, *Zäire*, Act I, scene ii, [line 13], in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 72 vols., Kehl, Germany, 1784–1801, 2:43).

Paris

J. Q. Adams: August: 20th. 1783.

Vitanda est improba Syren, Desidia.¹

¹ Horace, *Opera*, London, 1744, p. 149 (inscribed "J.Q. Adams, Paris, March 15, 1785," in MQA), Bk. II, Satire III, lines 14–15: "You must shun the wicked Siren Sloth [the quotation continues] or be content to drop whatever honour you have

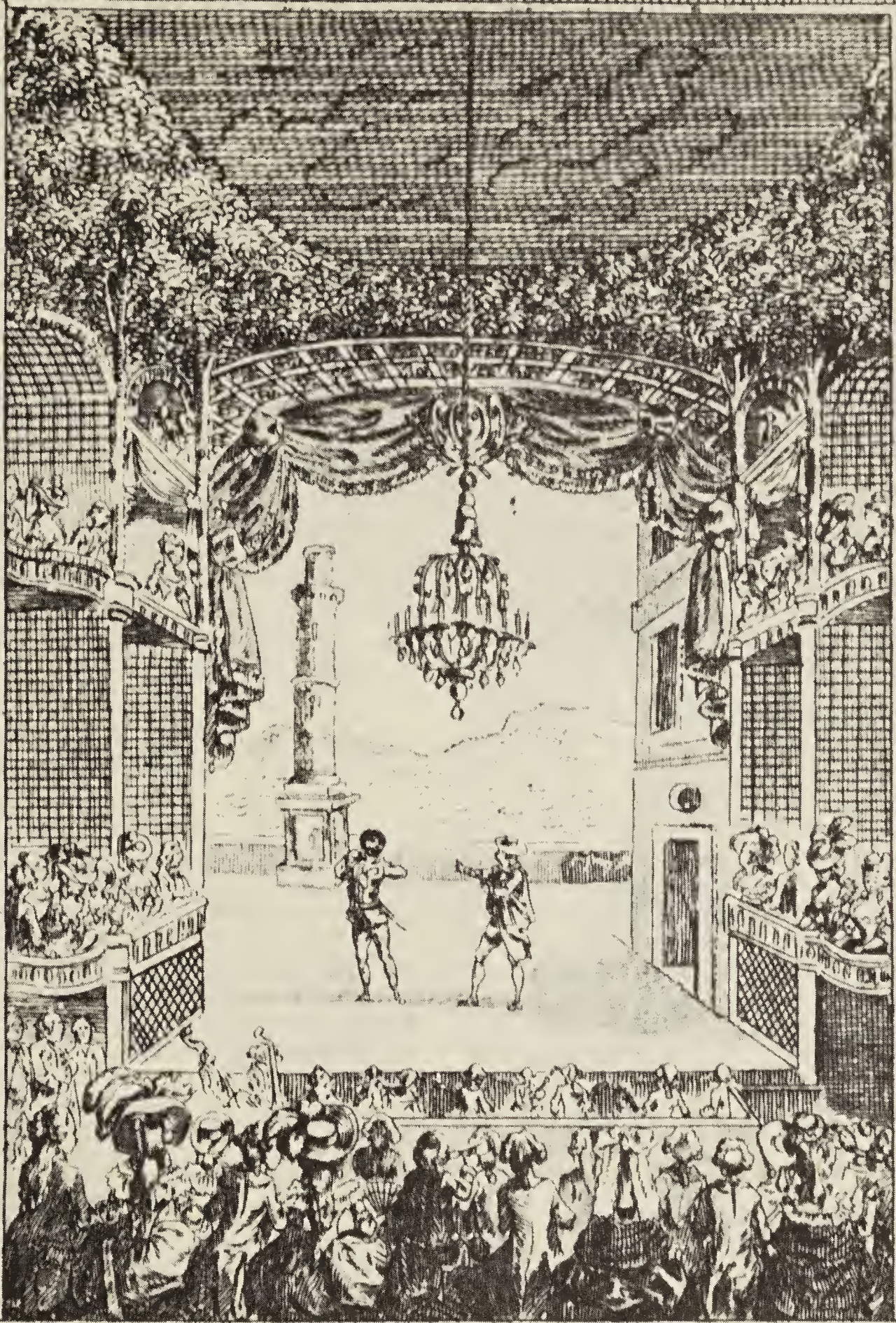
gained in nobler hours" (Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, transl. Fairclough, p. 153). These two lines appear on the second leaf, between the titlepage and first page of Diary entries.

JANUARY 1ST. 1785. SATURDAY.

Compliments to the Royal family at Versailles. My father carried twenty Guineas to distribute among the servants of the great folks, a tribute every minister is obliged to pay annually.

4TH.¹

Paris. *Varietés*; at the *palais Royal*. Small Théâtre, built in three weeks time. *Le nouveau parvenu*. *Le palais du bon gout*. *L'Intendant Comédien malgré lui*. *Le mensonge excusable*.² *Volange*,³ an excellent actor for the lowest kind of Comic-plays seven or eight parts in one piece with a wonderful facility. One or two other actors, good in their way. Yet I wonder how people of any delicacy, and especially Ladies can frequent this and the other small



○ Variété's Amusantes . ○

7. THE VARIÉTÉS AMUSANTES, PARIS, 1786
See pages xii–xiii

Diary of John Quincy Adams

Théâtres in Paris. The plays acted have seldom much wit, and almost universally are very indecent. I know not what this People would not run to; their taste seems to be entirely corrupted. The french Théâtre is deserted, when those pieces, which do honour to the nation are represented, and these theatres are always crowded, though they present nothing but low buffoonery, and scurrility. O tempora, O mores! Letters from America⁴ when we return'd. None for me.

¹ JQA most likely intended to continue his Diary on 2 Jan., but "4th." has been written over in its place. The fourth is probably the correct date (and hence, the entry following this is incorrect), as AA in letters she wrote between 3 and 7 Jan. makes several references to letters received on 4 Jan. (See letters by her cited in note 5, below.) On the other hand, AA2 has placed these events in her diary on 3 Jan. (*Jour. and Corr.*, 1:39-40).

² *Le nouveau parvenue*, Paris, 1782, *Le palais du bon goût*, n.p., n.d., but first produced in 1785, and *Le mensonge excusable*, Paris, 1783, all by Charles Jacob Guillemain; *La fête de campagne, ou, l'intendant*

comédien malgré lui (title and subtitle are sometimes reversed), Paris, 1784, by Louis Dorvigny (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

³ Maurice François Rochet, called Volange (Lyonnet, *Dict. des comédiens français*).

⁴ These included at least four letters, all dated 6 Nov. 1784: Elizabeth Cranch to AA, Adams Papers (reply, 3[-4] Jan., in AA, *Letters*, ed. CFA, 1848, p. 222-226); Royall Tyler to JA, and to AA2 (letters not found, but referred to in AA to Tyler, [4 Jan.], Adams Papers); and Mary Smith Cranch to AA, Adams Papers (reply, 7 Jan., MWA).

4TH.

Old Mr. Grand, and Dr. Bancroft.¹ In the evening Mr. Chaumont and Mr. Franklin.

¹ Dr. Edward Bancroft, physician, scientist, and writer, Franklin's confidential associate, and double agent during the Revolution (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*,

4:71-72; Julian Boyd, "Silas Deane: Death by a Kindly Teacher of Treason?" WMQ, 3d ser., 16:176-182, 319-342, 515-550 [April, July, Oct. 1959]).

7TH.

Company to dine. The Abbés wrote a billet to excuse themselves.

10TH.

Variétés. *Le faux talisman*. *La théatromanie*; *Oui ou non*.¹ Poor Stuff. A good deal of genteel Company.

¹ *Le faux talisman, ou, rira bien qui rira le dernier*, Paris, 1782, by Charles Jacob Guillemain; *La théatromanie*, Paris, 1783, by Pierre (Baron) de La Montagne; *Oui ou non*, Paris, 1780, by Louis Archambault Dorvigny (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

January 1785

14TH.

Paris. At the post; paid 235. livres for a parcel of packets. Walk'd in the Palais Royal. Large Company. Few Ladies.

17TH.

Paris. Italian Theatre. 1st. Representation of *Alexis et Justine*.¹ Went before 5. o'clock. Could not find one place high nor low. Went to the Grands Danseurs du Roi,² in a fiacre,³ for neither Servants nor carriage were to be found. *Le trousseau d'Agnes*. *Le Qui-pro-quo de l'hôtellerie*.⁴ Rope dancing. *Sophie de Brabant*, Pantomime. Just such another Théâtre as the Variétés. Plays just calculated to please the mob. Rope dancing, is surprizing at first sight, and pleases. *Placide*. *Le petit Diable et la jeune Anglaise*,⁵ very good. Comedy of Errors all this evening. Lost Appleton, and the Ladies. We however all met at Mr. Jefferson's, where my father spent the Evening. Late before we got home.

¹ *Alexis et Justine*, Paris, 1785, by Jacques Marie Boutet de Monvel, with music by Nicolas Dezède (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

² A vaudeville troupe founded by Jean Baptiste Nicolet, which performed "au fronton de" Théâtre de Nicolet on the Boulevard du Temple. These outdoor performances or "parades" were used to draw a crowd, and this company, within the theater, performed comic opera from the repertoire of the Comédie Italienne. Louis XV gave the troupe its title of the Grands Danseurs du Roi in 1772. They performed the two pieces described in note 4 (Emile Campardon, *Les spectacles de la foire*, 2

vols., Paris, 1877, 1:384; 2:151-152; René Héron de Villefosse, *Histoire de Paris*, Paris, 1950, p. 225-226; *Journal de Paris*, 17 Jan.; Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

³ A small French hackney coach.

⁴ *Le trousseau d'Agnès, ou, la veuve à marier*, an unpublished parade by Alexandre Louis Bertrand Robineau Beaunoir; *Le quiproquo de l'hôtellerie*, Paris, 1779, by Antoine François Quétant (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

⁵ *Placide* is probably a verse tragedy, London, 1786, by Père Joseph Romain Joly (same). *Petit diable et la jeune anglaise* has not been identified.

18TH.

Ambassador's day at Versailles, every Tuesday. Mr. A. went. *Alexis et Justine*, succeeded very well last night at the Italians. Words, Monvel, music, de Zede, celebrated authors. Dr. Jemm¹ dined with us. A singular Character.

¹ Possibly Guillaume Jaume, of Lyons, a friend of the Abbés Chalut and Arnoux, who advised Franklin and Col. Gabriel Johonnot on the education of their grandson and son, respectively (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 2:409; 4:64, 446).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

19TH.

Paris. Mr. Appleton, and Mr. Parker,¹ went for England. Saw Mr. Waring.² Breakfasted at the Hôtel de Modene. Appleton and Parker set off in the diligence, at about 12 1/2.

¹ John Parker Jr., a South Carolinian admitted to the Middle Temple in 1775 who later served in the Continental Congress (Edward Alfred Jones, *American Members of the Inns of Court*, London, 1924, p. 166; *Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

² Possibly Dr. Thomas Waring, who was in Europe to complete his medical education (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 3:69, 4:100; Joseph I. Waring, *The History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1900*, 2 vols., Columbia, S.C., 1964, 1:343).

20TH.

Mlle: Remaldi, appeared last night at the Italian Comedy, for the first time, in the part of *Lyse*, in *le jugement de Midas*,¹ and succeeded very well.

¹ By Thomas Hales, known as d'Hèle, Paris, 1778, with music by André Grétry (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

21ST.

Paris. Dined at Mr. Jeffersons. Capt. Paul Jones¹ told us the Marquis de la Fayette was arrived.² *Vrais Principes de la Langue Française, Synonimes François de M: l'Abbe Girard*.³ *Abdir*, a new piece was announced for to day at the French Théâtre, but is put off to next Wednesday.⁴ Mr. Blanchard cross'd from Dover to Calais in an air balloon, the 7th of the month, accompanied by Dr. Jefferies.⁵ They were obliged to throw over their cloathes to lighten their balloon. Mr. Blanchard met with a very flattering reception at Calais, and at Paris. He and his companion, have been applauded at the Théâtres. The king has given him twelve thousand livres, and a pension of 1200 # [livres] a year. All that has as yet been done relative to this discovery, is the work of the French. Montgolfier, Pilâtre de Rozier, and Blanchard will go down, hand in hand to Posterity.

¹ Jones was in Paris as congressional agent to recover prize money due officers and men of three ships. Shortly after his arrival in Dec. 1783, Franklin augmented Jones' authority to include the prize money due to any American ship formerly under his command. Jones' negotiations with the French minister of Marine concluded in Oct. 1784, but payment was long delayed (Samuel Eliot Morison, *John Paul*

Jones: A Sailor's Biography, Boston, 1959, p. 336-341).

² Lafayette was returning from a short, sentimental, and successful tour of the United States begun the previous August (Gottschalk, *Lafayette*, 4:83-138).

³ Gabriel Girard, *Synonymes françois . . . nouvelle édition . . . augmentée . . . de notes, par M. Beauzée*, 2 vols., Paris, 1769, and his *Les vrais principes de la langue françoise*, 2

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vols., Paris, 1747. These are both in JA's library at MB. A copy of *Synonymes françois*, Amsterdam, 1766, with JQA's bookplate is at MQA; there are also three copies of *Les vrais principes*, two in JA's library, and another at MQA, but none bears JQA's bookplate.

⁴ *Abdir*, Paris, 1785, by Edme Louis Bilardon de Sauvigny, was first produced the following Wednesday, 26 Jan., then reduced to three acts on 31 Jan., when JQA saw and described it (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*; *Journal de Paris*, 26 Jan.).

⁵ François Blanchard (usually called

Jean Pierre), the French aeronaut, and John Jeffries, the Massachusetts-born loyalist and physician to the Adamses when they later lived in London. After an initial experimental flight together on 30 Nov., Blanchard and Jeffries made their historic crossing of the Channel on 7 Jan., landing in the Forest of Guines, near Calais (Hofer, *Nouv. biog. générale*; Mary Beth Norton, "America's First Aeronaut: Dr. John Jeffries," *History Today*, 18:722-729 [Oct. 1968]; AA to Mary Smith Cranch, 25-27 Feb. 1787, MWA).

25TH.

Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Short.¹ The Marquis de la Fayette is not arrived. Mrs. Barclay.

¹ William Short, private secretary to Jefferson in Paris from 1785 to 1789 (George Green Shackelford, "William Short, Diplomat in Revolutionary France," *Amer. Philos. Soc., Procs.*, 102:596-612 [Dec. 1958]).

26TH.

Mr. A: Paris. A Gentleman brought a Letter from Mr. Jay, which came by the Marquis de la Fayette:¹ who will arrive this evening at Versailles.

¹ John Jay to JA, 13 Dec. 1784 (Adams Papers).

27TH.

Company to dine Mr. d'Asp,¹ and another Swedish gentleman. Mr. Setaro a Portuguese gentleman in the Evening. Mr. Williams² spent the evening with us. Coll. Humphreys presented to Mr. A: a copy of his Poem address'd to the Armies of the United States.³ It appears very well written. The versification is in general noble, and easy. It is a recapitulation of some of the principal events that happened during the course of the late Revolution, and contains predictions concerning the future grandeur of the United States. May they be verified!⁴

¹ Per Olof von Asp, secretary of the Swedish embassy at Paris (*Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*; entry for 18 April, below).

² Jonathan Williams Jr., who joined his great-uncle Benjamin Franklin in France

in 1776 and served as U.S. commercial agent at Nantes (DAB).

³ "A Poem, Addressed to the Armies of the United States of America," New Haven, 1780, repr. Paris and London, 1785

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(Dexter, *Yale Graduates*, 3:417-418). JA's presentation copy, presumably of the Paris edition (see AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:45), has not been found.

⁴ A red exclamation mark here was probably added after 1 Feb., when JQA began to record dates in red ink.

28TH.

Paris in the Evening. French Theatre. *Iphigenie en Aulide*, of Racine, and *l'Aveugle Clairvoyant*.¹ Though the tragedy is perhaps the best that is acted upon the Theatre, and though they had last night several of the best players, to act it, the House was not half full. Such is the present taste in this Kingdom. Brizards² in Agamemnon is not I think so good as in some other parts: though it is a very disagreeable Character to support. De la Rive, in Archilles is excellent. Mlle. Saintval in Iphigenia, Mlle. Raucourt in Clytemnestra, and Mlle. Thenard³ in Eriphile, are good. Fleury⁴ in the small piece was, admirable. When we returned, found 3. Letters, for me. W. Warren. C. Storer. Mr. Dumas.⁵

¹ Paris, 1674; and Paris, 1716, by Marc Antoine Legrand (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

² Jean Baptiste Britard, called Brizard (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

³ Probably Jean Mauduit de La Rive or Larive; Marie Blanche Alziari de Roquefort, called Saint-val; Françoise Clairien, called Saucerotte, but more familiarly known as Raucourt; Marie Magdalaine

Claudine Chevalier Perrin, called Thenard (same; Michaud, *Biog. universelle*; Lyonnet, *Dict. des comédiens français*).

⁴ Abraham Joseph Bénard, known as Fleury, the celebrated French comedian (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

⁵ Winslow Warren to JQA, 4 Jan.; C. W. F. Dumas to JQA, 21 Jan.; the third not found (both in Adams Papers).

29TH.

Paris afternoon, alone. Mr. Jeffersons. He looks much afflicted. The last letters, brought him news of the death of one of his daughters:¹ he has a great deal of Sensibility. Bought books.²

¹ Jefferson received the news of the death of Lucy Elizabeth (b. 1782), his second daughter by that name, in a letter from James Currie, 20 Nov. 1784, which

was received on 26 Jan., carried by Lafayette (Jefferson, *Papers*, 6:186; 7:441, 538-539).

² None has been positively identified.

30TH.

Mr. A. met Mr. Jefferson, at Paris, in the forenoon.

⟨31⟩ The Marquis de la Fayette was here in the evening. He appears very well satisfied with his last voyage to America.

31ST.

Paris in the afternoon. French Theatre. *Abdir*, and *le Roi de Cocagne*.¹ *Abdir* is a new piece. This was only the 2d. Representation: 'tis the history of young Asgill,² brought upon the Stage, under feigned names. G. Britain is Nangés. Vazercan is General Washington. *Abdir* is Asgill. The King of Persia is the King of France, who at the end of the Piece sends an Ambassador to the new Republic, requesting the pardon of *Abdir*. The Author has not given so much interest I think to the piece, as the Subject is susceptible of; and it is something so new, that I don't know by what name to call it. It is not a Tragedy: for the Hero of the piece is a private person, who is known only by that even which was produced merely by chance. It is not a Comedy, for there is not a character in it, that has any thing comic in it, and the drift of the Piece, is entirely tragic. There are however a number of excellent, and very liberal sentiments. The compliments paid to the French king and nation, are not *outrés*. Much is said in praise of Liberty, and of the People that defended it. Even the British are treated in a very generous manner, as they always are upon the french Stages although the English upon their Theatres take every opportunity they can to ridicule and debase this Nation. Nolé³ in *Abdir*, and Madame Vestris⁴ in the mother, made as much of their parts as they could. *Le Roi de Cocagne*, is one of the most laughable, and most absurd pieces I ever saw; Dugazon,⁵ delivered the part of the King very well.

¹ A musical comedy by Marc Antoine Legrand, Paris, 1719, with music by the actor Jean Baptiste Maurice Quinault (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*); for *Abdir*, see entry for 21 Jan., note 4 (above).

² Charles Asgill, the British officer captured at Yorktown, who was selected for execution in retaliation for the hanging by American loyalists of Capt. Joshua Huddy of the New Jersey militia. His ultimate release came through the initiative of his mother, who sent an appeal for her son's life to Vergennes, who, in turn, laid the

matter before Louis XVI and his queen. So moved were they by the plea, that they directed Vergennes to write to Washington, who sent the letter to the congress, which voted for Asgill's release (DNB).

³ Not identified.

⁴ Françoise Rose Gourgaud was known on stage by her married name (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

⁵ Jean Baptiste Henri Gourgaud (or Gourgault), called Dugazon, the brother of Mme. Vestris (Lyonnet, *Dict. des comédiens français*).

3D.¹

Paris. In the afternoon with Mr. A. went for the books arrived from London. Not to be found. Bought other books.² Weather somewhat cold. The whole month of January very mild.

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¹ JQA began this month with the date "Tuesday February 1st. 1785.," but his first entry is on the third.

² Neither set of books has been identified.

4TH.

Snowy, stormy weather all the morning, but clear in the afternoon. Mrs. and Miss A. went to Paris, and at length got, the long expected Books.

5TH.

Stormy Weather. Mr. A. went to Passy in the morning, and to the Marquis's afternoon. A Letter from Mr. Dana:¹ a vessel arrived at L'Orient from Boston.

¹ Dana to JA, 12 Dec. 1784 (Adams Papers).

6TH.

Enter Miss A. in the evening, and cries out, "Callahan¹ is arrived, and a bushel of Letters. One for you Sir from C. Storer:"² and away she flew. Miss had a dozen at least: there were very few for any body else.³

¹ Presumably Capt. John Callahan, Boston shipmaster; it was probably his vessel that JQA referred to in his previous entry (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:215-216).

² Letter not found.

³ Among them probably was Mary (Smith) Cranch to AA, 6 Dec. 1784 (Adams Papers), as referred to in AA to Mary (Smith) Cranch, 20 Feb. - 13 March 1785 (MWA). The letters to AA2 are presumably lost.

7TH.

Dined at Mr. Jefferson's. Masks in the [rue de] Fauxbourg St. Antoine and in the rue St. Honoré.¹ With reason, are the Parisians called by all the rest of the Nation badauds² de Paris, for nothing can be conceived more stupid, than this Carnaval amusement. An hundred people perhaps run about the streets in masks, and there are ten thousand people without masks looking upon them: it is said however that this diversion is going much out of fashion; and that the Police, are obliged to hire a vast number of People, to set the example: two thirds of the Masks, are paid, say they. Thus does this government take every measure imaginable, to keep the eyes of the People shut, upon their own situation: and they really do it very effectually.

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¹ A pre-Lenten carnival culminating in a masked ball that evening (AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:46–47).

² Idle, frivolous persons.

8TH.

Coll. Humphreys. In the afternoon, went through Passy, to Paris. Mr. Jefferson's. Saw the Masks again, a vast number more to day than yesterday. Shrove Tuesday last day of the Carnaval. French Comedy. But could get no places. A rare thing.

11TH.

Paris Afternoon. Coll. Humphreys and Mr. Short, went with us to see Astley's equestrian exercises which, may be seen once or twice with pleasure, but which are tiresome, to one who has seen them as often as I have. Astley exhibits from October till february in Paris, and the rest of the year in London. His Amphitheatre here, is generally very full: he might make a very large fortune, but spends as much as he gains. *Ce qui vient par la flute, s'en retourne par le tambour* say the french. This evening a contest arose between two persons about a place; one of them appeared to be a Gentleman, and was well drest. The other look'd like an upper Servant: he was there to keep three places which had been taken beforehand. The Gentleman wanted to place a Lady he had with him, in one of the Places, and after a few words had passed, he called for the Officer that was to *keep the Peace* maintain order who immediately decided that the Gentleman was in the right: this is always the case, in France, and I believe that had the other Person, been a Chevalier de St. Louis, or a person of distinction, the Officer would have decided the matter very differently. In England they fall into the other extreme, and the Populace commit the most outrageous disorders, unpunish'd. Of the two evils, the french I think is the most supportable; you are only exposed to humiliation, whereas in England, your life is really not out of danger. Mr. Jefferson informed us that he has learnt by a Letter from New-York dated Jany. 5 that Congress are sitting in that City.

12TH.

Mr. A. Dined in Paris at the Duke of Dorset's.¹ Very cold weather: as much so, I think, as any, we have had this Season.

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¹ John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Paris, 1783–1789 (*DNB*).

14TH.

Dined at Dr. Franklin's with a great deal of Company, among the rest Dr. Jeffries who lately cross'd with Mr. Blanchard, from Dover to Calais. He is a small man: has not an agreeable address, but seems to be very sensible: he related his voyage: in which his intrepidity had well nigh been fatal to him: the balloon descended he says, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in 2. minutes: he and Mr. Blanchard were both of them obliged to throw almost all their cloaths in the water. At one time they were not more than 20 yards above the surface. Mr. B—g—m¹ who decides upon all subjects in a more positive manner than I think he would if he was versed well in any, said it was impossible for a balloon to remain steady in one place; because said he, there is nothing to resist it: Messrs. Roberts in the account they gave of their last voyage in the air say that at one time for five minutes their balloon did not stir forward: they saw the shadow of it upon the ground, and were therefore sure of what they advanced: this was alledged but Mr. B—g—m said M: M: Roberts were fools: this was the shortest way by which he could prove the truth of his assertion.

¹ That is, William Bingham, Philadelphia banker and land speculator, whom JQA met in London.

15TH.

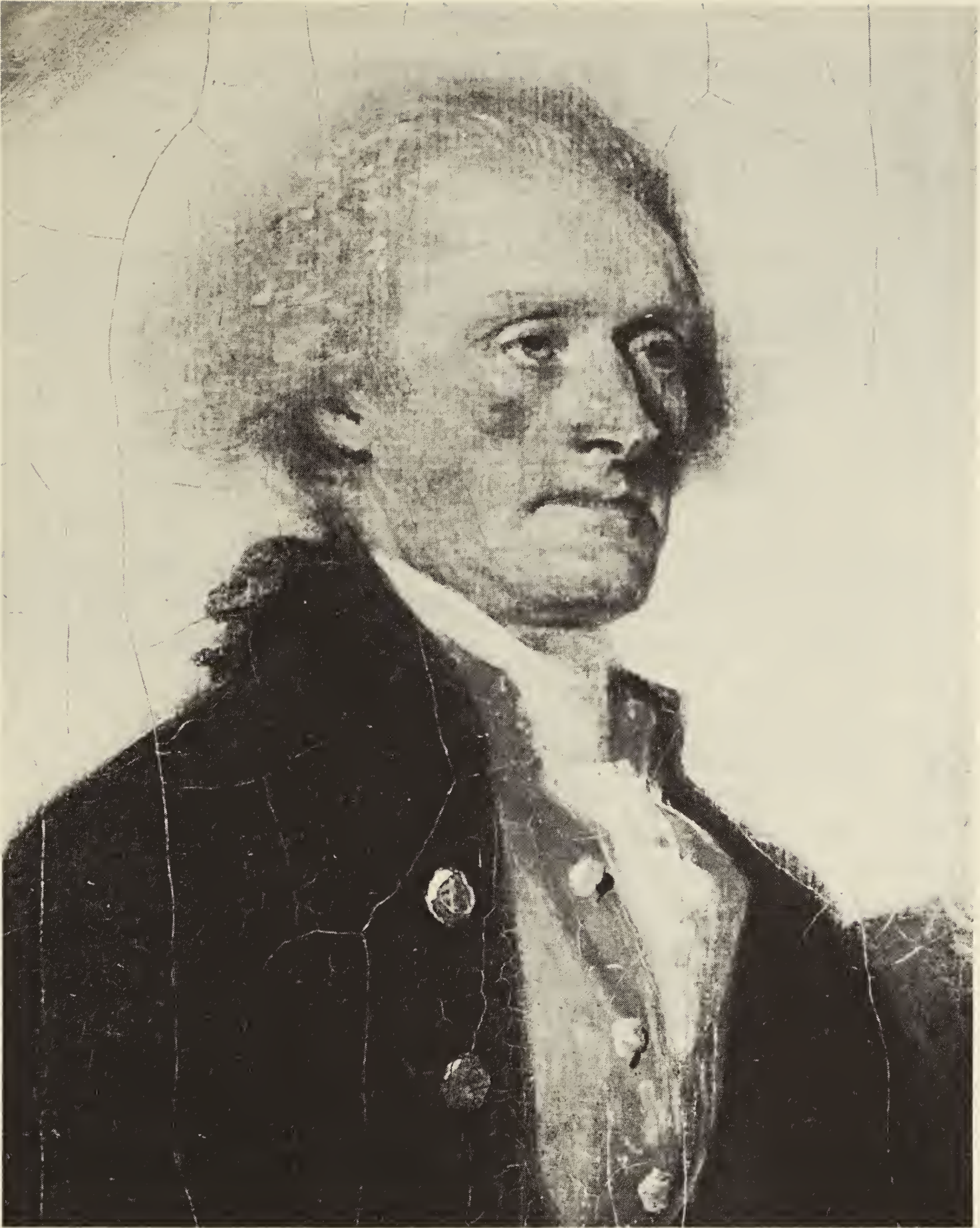
Paris, afternoon. Carried Mr. A's Letter to the Abbé de Mably,¹ requesting him to write a moral, and political Catechism. The Abbés de Chalût and Arnoux read it. Went to Messieurs le Couteulx,² for money, and was bad to come tomorrow. Bought the abridgement of Wolff's course of Mathématiques in french.³

¹ Letter not found, but see Mably's reply, 25 Feb. (Adams Papers).

² Le Couteulx & Cie., Paris merchant bankers (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:61, 151).

³ JQA's "abridged" version has not

been found, but JA's library contains a copy of Christian Wolff's *Cours de mathématique, contenant toutes les parties de cette science... Traduit en François, & augmenté*, ed. Charles Antoine Jombert, 3 vols., Paris, 1757.



8. THOMAS JEFFERSON, BY JOHN TRUMBULL, 1787
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16TH.

Paris, afternoon. Returned to Messrs: le Couteulx, for Mr. Gs¹ business and finished it. Mr. Jefferson's. A man of universal learning and very pleasing manners. Memorandum: borrowed 2 vols. of the *Tableau de Paris*.²

¹ Either Ferdinand or Georges Grand, Paris bankers.

² [Louis Sebastien Mercier], *Tableau de Paris. Nouvelle édition corrigée & augmentée*. Jefferson had only the first six of twelve volumes, which were published in

Amsterdam in 1782-1783 (E. Millicent Sowerby, comp., *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, 5 vols., Washington, 1952-1959, 4:122-123; entry for 11 March, below).

19TH.

Dined at the Swedish Ambassadors:¹ the Company was not very numerous: a number of Sweeds, one, who lately came from America: the Ambassador said to me: mon dieu que Mlle. vôtre soeur est jolie! j'ai vu peu d'aussi jolies femmes qu'elle: he thought doubtless, that I should tell her what he said: he is a very agreeable man. The Gentleman lately from America, professes to be charmed with the Country: especially with Newport in Rhode Island: he admired the Ladies very much. We had a very elegant dinner, served entirely in silver, but it was not so splendid, as I have seen at the same table: the generality of the foreign Ambassadors here live in a great degree of magnificence: the Sweedish Ambassador pays nine thousand livres a year for his house without an article of furniture in it. Mr. Brantzen, one of the Dutch Ambassadors gives for his house, all furnished eighteen thousand livres per an: and I have heard him boast of his having it very cheap. Count d'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador gives twenty eight thousand livres every year for his house: every thing else must be in proportion; the same Count d'Aranda has sixty persons in his service, and spends doubtless more than ten thousand pound sterling annually. No Ambassador at this Court spends less, I am persuaded, than 6,000 sterling.

¹ Erik Magnus, Baron Staël-Holstein, minister plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary to France, 1783-1796, 1798-1799 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 408).

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21ST.

All dined at the Marquis de la Fayette. There was a considerable company, mostly composed of Americans. We saw two of the Marquis's children; he has three; but the other is out at nurse at Versailles. His son is called George Washington: about 4 years old, a very pretty child: the Legislature of the State of Connecticut have lately made his father and him, citizens of that State. The Marquis's youngest daughter is named Virginia. Madame is a very agreeable woman, and has a pleasing countenance: She is extremely fond of her husband and children, which is a most uncommon circumstance: especially as when they were married, neither of them was more than 12 years old: She told my father that Mrs. Jay, did not like the french Ladies. "*Ni moi, non plus.*" And that if Monsr. le Marquis goes to America again, she will go with him.¹ The Marquis brought with him from America, a young Gentleman, of the age of about 14: his name is Colwel² and his father was barbarously murdered by the British, during the War in New Jersey.

¹ Anastasie Louise Pauline de Lafayette, later Comtesse de Latour-Maubourg; George(s) Washington de Lafayette, godson of Washington, and later a soldier and politician; Marie Antoinette Virginie de Lafayette, later Marquise de Lasteyrie; Marie Adrienne Françoise de Noailles de Lafayette, wife of the Marquis (*Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790*, ed. Stanley J. Idzerda and others, Ithaca, N.Y., 1977- , 1:xliv-xlv, 477-

478; Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

² John Edwards Caldwell, son of Rev. James Caldwell of Elizabethtown, N.J., whom Lafayette had educated in a French boarding school. Caldwell later returned to the United States, where he was a philanthropist in New York city and a founder of the American Bible Society (Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette*, 4:142, 161-162; Nicholas Murray, "A Memoir of the Rev. James Caldwell, of Elizabethtown," N.J. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st ser., 3:88 [May 1848]).

22D.

My father went to Versailles. Mr. Short went with him to be presented at Court. Variable Weather: much Snow in the morning, fair weather at noon, and Stormy again, in the Evening. The Duke of Dorset said to my father, while they were passing from one chamber to another "what nonsensical business all this noisy parade is!" My father said it was curious that a person like him, who had from his Childhood been brought up to it, should speak in that manner of it: "I have always hated it," replied the Duke, "and I have avoided it whenever I possibly could." Thus

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it is almost universally. People who pass all their lives in Pomp and Parade, are as much averse to it, as any body; and yet they do not abolish it; and nothing is more difficult than laying aside established customs, though every body agrees, that they are absurd.

24TH.

Paris in the morning. Mr. Williams and Mr. Franklin went with us. They breakfasted at M: de St. Olympe's.¹ I went to *Gougué et Née de la Rochelle*, booksellers Quai des Augustins. Bought Rollin's *histoire Romaine*, and Mr. Necker's book.² Mr. Jefferson was not at home: nor any body at his House. Mr. Franklin³ has taken lessons of animal magnetism, he laugh'd at it much; yet said it was a very useful discovery.

¹ A French West Indian with business interests in Martinique and North America (AA2, *Jour. and Corr.*, 1:50-51; *Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 3:168; 4:110, 116).

² Charles Rollin, *L'Histoire romaine, depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'à la bataille d'Actium . . .*, 7 vols., Paris, 1738-1741. JQA's set mentioned here may be one of two different sixteen-volume editions at MQA, both of which bear his bookplate, and one of which also carries his autograph. Of the several works of Jacques Necker, French financier and statesman, in the Adams libraries, the only contemporary publication bearing JQA's bookplate is *De l'administration des finances de la France*, 3 vols., [Paris], 1784.

³ William Temple Franklin, the natural son of Benjamin Franklin's natural son William, had served as his grandfather's

secretary since 1776. Temple was a member of the Paris Société de L'Harmonie, a group founded by the followers of Frederick Anthony Mesmer. Mesmer, a Vienna-trained physician, claimed to have discovered the property of animal magnetism, a fluid conducted by a kind of occult force in himself which contained curative powers. Owing in large part to Mesmer's great success in Paris, Louis XVI appointed Benjamin Franklin in March 1784 a member of a royal commission to examine the subject of animal magnetism, which was denounced in their report that summer. Franklin doubted its existence, and the cures claimed for it strengthened his belief in mankind's credulity (Franklin, *Papers*, 1:lxii; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:356; 3:102-103, 169; Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert, *The Private Franklin*, N.Y., 1975, p. 255-258).

25TH.

Paris. At the Opera. *Panurge dans l'Isle des Lanternes*;¹ a new Opera. 12th time. Words, which are very indifferent M: Morel: music, which is exquisite M: Gretri. I dont know how it happens, but the more this gentleman composes, the better his music is, I think. The dancing was also admirable, Gardel,² and Vestris,³ perhaps the two best dancers in the world, performed together; and strove to surpass one another. Mesdemoiselles Saunier, Langlois and Zacharie, were much applauded. Such

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magnificent Scenery, such rich dresses, such delicious music, vocal and instrumental, and such inimitable dancing, combined together, appear rather an effect of enchantment than of art: I never yet saw an Opera, with so much Pleasure. The words are very bad.

¹ A comedy by Étienne Morel de Chédeville (sometimes Chefdeville), Paris, 1785, with music by André Grétry; it was performed at the Académie Royal de Musique (Brenner, *Bibliographical List; Journal de Paris*, 25 Feb.).

² Probably Pierre Gabriel Gardel, "le jeune," French dancer and choreographer

and brother of Maximilien Joseph Léopold Gardel (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale; Journal de Paris*, 1 March 1783).

³ Probably Marie Auguste Vestris, son of the Italian dancer Gaetano Apollino Baldassare Vestri, called Vestris (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

26TH.

M: de St: Olympe: Mr. Franklin and Mr. Williams dined with us. The first is a west Indian; who is going in a short time to America: Mr. Franklin has been so long in France, that he is more a Frenchman than an American: I doubt whether he will enjoy himself perfectly if he returns to America.

27TH.

Mr. Pickman¹ brought a Letter² from Mr. Tracey. Cold weather.

¹ Benjamin Pickman, son of the Salem merchant of the same name. The father disapproved of the course of pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts politics and left America for England in 1775. The son was making a tour of France and returned to Boston via London with his father in the spring. Later he studied law, spending some time in Theophilus Parsons' law of-

fice with JQA; but like his father, he entered commerce (George Francis Dow, *The Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman . . . and Genealogy of the Pickman Family*, Newport, R.I., 1928, p. 27-28, 146; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 14:489-492; entry for 23 Feb. 1788, below).

² Letter not found.

28TH.

Paris. Bought of *Froullé* bookseller quai des Augustins Crevier's *Histoire des Empereurs Romains*.¹ Spent half an hour with Mr. Blakely: he goes for London next monday. Mr. Pickman was not at home, nor Mr. Waring, nor any body at Mr. Jefferson's; I waited there an hour for them to return; but in vain. I passed an hour with the abbés de Chalût and Arnoux: Abbé de Mably was with them. This gentleman is very famous in the literary world: he has written a great deal; upon the subject of

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morals and politics, and of late four letters containing Observations upon the Constitutions of America,² which he addressed to my father.

¹ This may be the twelve-volume, Paris, 1749–1755, edition of Jean Baptiste Louis Crevier's *Histoire des empereurs romains, depuis Auguste jusqu'à Constantin* at MQA, which bears JQA's bookplate.

² *Observations sur le gouvernement et les*

loix des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Amsterdam, 1784; transl. *Remarks Concerning the Government and Laws of the United States of America: In Four Letters, Addressed to Mr. Adams*, London, 1784. Copies of both are in JA's library at MB.

TUESDAY MARCH 1ST. 1785.

Coldest weather we have had this year. Reaumur's thermometer at 8 degrees below the freezing point. Abbé de Chalût told me last evening, that neither he nor his brother, (and they are both turned of seventy,) remember ever to have experienced so cold weather in the beginning of March.

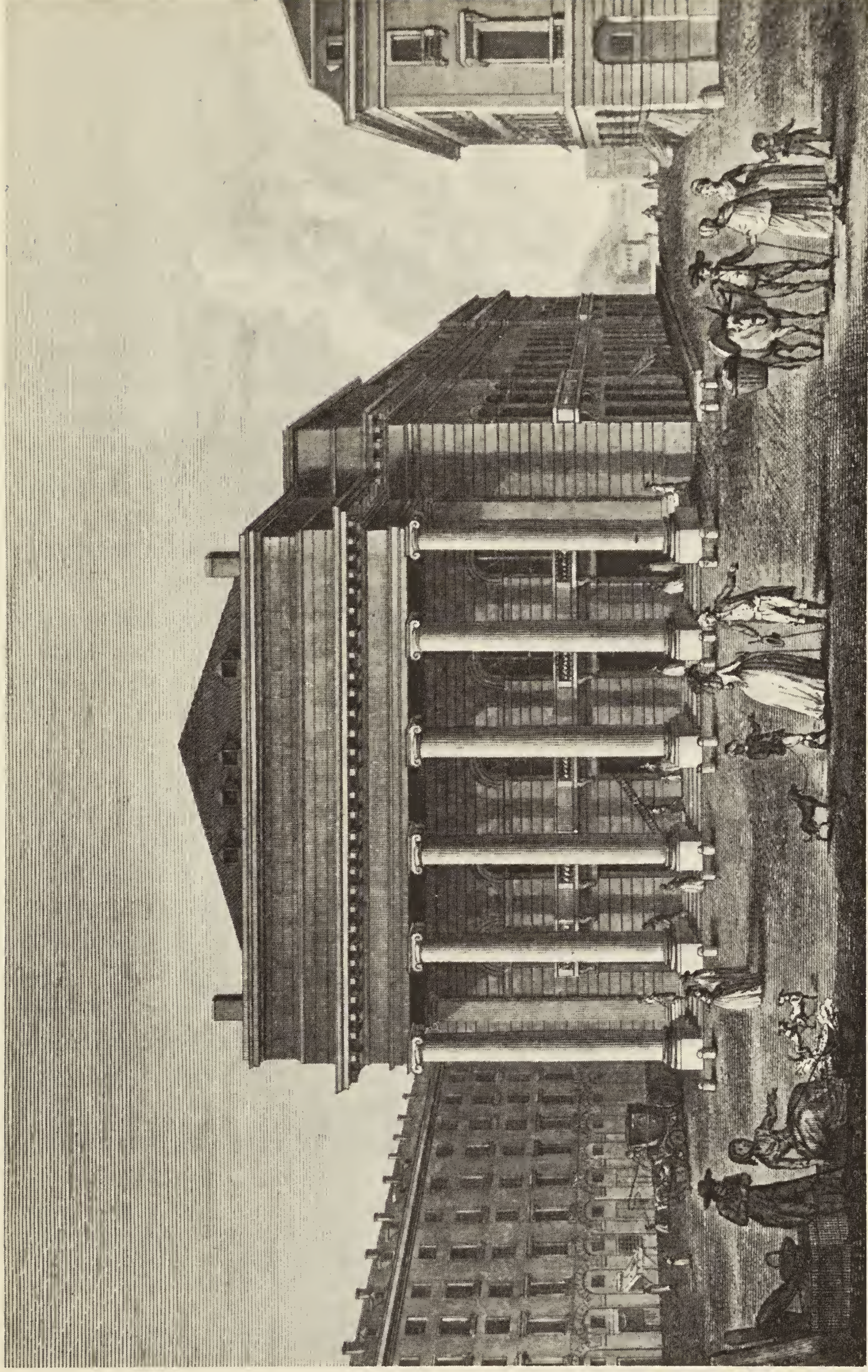
2D.

Paris afternoon. *La Servante Maitresse*,¹ and, the 20th. Representation of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, an Opera, at the Italian Comedy. The words are of *Sèdaine* and the Music of *Gretri*. It is a delightful Piece, and the music like all the rest of Mr. Gretri's compositions is admirable. We were early, but could get only very bad places; I never saw any Théâtre more crowded, and a vast number of persons could get no Places at all. Philippe play'd Richard, and Clairval Blondel: this is a charming Character, and was very well acted. Mlle. Rosalie in Blondel's guide, was interesting, as also Mlle. Colomb, in the Countess of Flanders. The First Piece, is a translation of the *Serva padrona*, of the famous Pergolezzi, but it is a very bad one. The music, is perhaps some of the best ever composed, but the piece has no effect upon the Théâtre. There are in this Piece only two speaking Characters and one mute personage.

¹ By Pierre Baurans, Paris, 1754, with music by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

4TH.

Letters from America as late as January 1st.¹ by the way of England: One from Mr. Jay at New York, of Jany 14th² to the Ministers, informing them of his having accepted the place of Minister for foreign affairs.



9. THE COMÉDIE ITALIENNE, PARIS, CIRCA 1780S
See pages xiii–xiv

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¹ These included: Cotton Tufts to JA, 1 Jan., not found; Tristram Dalton to JA, 21 Dec. 1784 (Adams Papers); and probably Francis Dana to JA, 12 Dec. 1784 (same).

² "Jany. 14th" was written over a date

in December (day illegible), which accounts for the inconsistency with the first clause in this entry. The letter is printed in Jefferson, *Papers*, 7:606.

5TH.

Company to dine. Mr. Bleakly took charge of some Letters for London, one for Mr. Elworthy.¹ He goes on Monday. Mr. Pickman sets out for London too, in the Course of the next week. I dined with him last June at London, on board Captn. Callahan's ship. He belongs to Salem, and is a very agreeable young Gentleman. Mr. Waring thinks of going to America in May, about the time I shall: Indeed it is not improbable that we shall go together: though he wishes to go from London, first. Mrs. Bingham came in the evening, and spent an hour with the Ladies. She looks very unwell: has had the tooth ache, violently for almost ten days. She is going to Switzerland, and to Italy next summer. Mr. B. made a very large fortune during the War by privateering, and since the Peace, came to Europe to enjoy it.

¹ JA to James Elworthy, 5 March (LbC, Adams Papers).

7TH.

Dined at the Marquis de la Fayette's. The Chevalier de la Luzerne¹ dined there has been in the Country for some Months past. *M: de Camaran* a young french gentleman who went to America with the Marquis the last time was asked by Mrs. B. what part of America he liked best. He did not know from what part she was, and answered Boston. "I never was there" said Mrs. B. The Gentleman was embarass'd when he found she was a Philadelphian; but she added *j'aime beaucoup mieux l'Europe que l'Amerique*. Mrs. B. is handsome, about 20 years of age, and her husband is supposed to be, and lives as if he was, very rich; so it is not very astonishing that she prefers Europe to her own Country.

¹ Anne César, Chevalier de La Luzerne, the masterful French minister to the United States, 1779-1784, described by Bemis as having "exercised a more complete ascendancy over the Government of the United States than any foreign envoy since his time." JA and JQA had first become acquainted with La Luzerne

on their return from France in 1779. On board *La Sensible* JQA taught English to the French minister, who was impressed with young Adams' mastery of the language (Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, N.Y., 1935, p. 102-103; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:385).

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9TH.

Paris. Mr. Williamos¹ went with us to see the Gallery of Pictures belonging to the Duke de Chartres in the Palais Royal. It is one of the finest Collections in Europe. There are a great number of Pictures by the first Masters of the Art. More of Raphael, than in any Collection I ever saw. The cieling is painted in Fresco by Antony Coypel.² The paintings are very fine, and it is a pity they will be destroyed as the building will soon be demolished in order to continue those, they are now erecting.³ Among the numerous admirable paintings in this gallery I distinguished particularly the few following. *Our Saviour dead, with four women round him* by *Raphael*.⁴ The Swiss said to us, “c’est le tableau le plus précieux qu’il y ait dans l’univers.” The virgin Mary is represented in a swoon. The expression of grief in the other faces is such as one cannot conceive without seeing the painting. Inexpressible distress is seen in all. Yet the character of each is different; it is impossible to see it without being deeply affected. The colouring is still extremely fresh, though the picture is two hundred years old. *A Saint John*⁵ placed above the other. It is only St. John with his Gospel before him; but it is a Master Piece. *A child Jesus receiving cherries from St. Joseph*, by Raphael also which is admirable. *The history of Constantine* in a course of painting by *Jules Romano and Raphaël*. *A Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen*, by Raphael. *A judgment of Paris* by *Rubens*. This is the only remarkable painting of that Master in the Collection. Among the Portraits, a burgermaster of Amsterdam by Rembrandt is admirable. As indeed are almost all the pictures there. There are however some so bad, that I was astonished to find them there, and some that are absurd and ridiculous. There is one where St. Joseph is at work as a Carpenter; our saviour as a child is holding a line, and the virgin Mary, devoutly sewing a shirt. In another she is washing linen, Christ is taking it as she washes it, gives it to Joseph, who hands it up to a parcel of angels: and they hang it upon the branches of a tree to dry. I am not a sufficient connoisseur in Pictures to decide whether they were good, but I know that the Ideas are groveling, despicable, and impious. There are several allegories, such as Mars and Venus tied together by Cupid. Mars is Henry the fourth, and Venus Gabrielle d’Estrées; but allegories are not the thing in Painting. Upon the whole I don’t know of any Collection of Pictures I have ever seen that gave me so much Pleasure. There are

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in this gallery a number of models of the different trades. The Shops of the artists in each trade are compleat, and all are made at the rate of an inch per foot. The Duke de Chartres intended to have the whole Encyclopedia, thus in miniature, but his buildings in the Palais Royal have been so amazingly expensive, and he pays so high an interest for the money he borrows, that he wanted money I suppose to continue the models, he has already the *joiner, Carpenter, Apothecary, Chimist, Anatomist* and a number of others. It were to be wished he had completed the Collection.

We afterwards went to see Mademoiselle Bertin's magazin de modes. She is the Queens milliner, and the first millener in Europe. Mademoiselle Bertin is the most celebrated person in the Kingdom: the heroes that have acquired so much naval glory must all strike their flaggs before Mlle. Bertin. Their reputation lasted perhaps a month in Paris. Hers has lasted years and will last years still if she lives. She keeps her Equipage, and makes I suppose 100,000 livres a year. She has at least twenty women working in her magazine at a time. She is at this time occupied in making dresses for an Infanta of Spain aged 10 years who is to be married in a short time to a Prince of Portugal aged 12. Three hundred thousand livres have already been advanced to Mlle. Bertin. But as this sum, which is only 12000 guineas is so small a trifle, she is left at her own Discretion: and that discretion is such that she will probably go to four times the sum that has been advanced. We saw a petticoat there, which at a moderate evaluation, I suppose amounts to about a thousand guineas, and all the rest is in Proportion. All this is very pretty; but some morose, surly fellow might say, where does all this money come from. "*Ay, there's the rub.*" We must be contented with admiring the magnificence of the Robes and go no further. I dined at Dr. Franklin's. M: de St. Olympe was there; and M: Dusaulx a Member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres; who has published a translation of Juvenal, of which he spoke with sufficient complaisance.

¹ Charles Williamos, an intimate of the Jefferson-Adams circle in Paris in 1784-1785, who was described by AA after his death as "this curious adventurer, who possesst Benevolence, without conduct, and learning without sense." Swiss by birth, he served with British forces in

America in the late 1750s and traveled widely there, becoming an expert on Indian affairs and a correspondent with British cabinet officers. Jefferson severed relations with him in July after learning that he was quite likely a spy for the British or at least in their pay. "He tarried in

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Paris," AA later wrote to JQA, "untill he could not leave it, for debt; and he had borrowd of every American there; untill he could get no further credit" (Jefferson, *Papers*, 8:269-273; AA to JQA, 16 Feb. 1786, Adams Papers).

² Antoine Coypel, painter for the Duc d'Orleans, who was placed in charge of the interior decoration of the Palais Royal (Bénézit, *Dict. des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*).

³ The Palais Royal was of course not demolished.

⁴ This painting may be a copy of *The Entombment*. The original was painted in 1507 and is now at the Galleria Borghese in Rome (Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries*, London, 1971, p. 23-24).

⁵ Possibly Raphael's *Saint Jean au desert* (Casimir Stryienski, *La galerie du Régent Philippe Duc D'Orleans*, Paris, 1913, p. 158-159), but JQA's descriptions are usually too vague to identify particular paintings.

11TH.

Paris afternoon. Got of Froullé Brindley's Virgil.¹ Went to see Mr. Pickman, at the Hotel de york. He intends setting away for London, next Monday. Spent the evening with Mr. Jefferson whom I love to be with, because he is a man of very extensive learning, and pleasing manners. Memorandum took the 4 last volumes of The tableau de Paris. Mr. Williamos, with Mr. and Mrs. Rooker,² were at Auteuil in the morning.

¹ *Opera*, London, Brindley edn., 1744, and inscribed with JQA's name (MQA).

² Mr. and Mrs. John Rucker, who became intimate with the Adamses when they moved to London later in the year. Rucker was a partner in Robert Morris' New York commercial house. In 1787 he got into difficulties which caused him to

leave England under a cloud and required JA to journey to Holland at two days' notice to sign bonds for a new loan so that the interest on the Dutch loan could be paid (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 3:210; AA2 to JQA, 10 June - 16 July 1787, Adams Papers).

12TH.

Paris afternoon with Mrs. A. upon some business for Mrs. Hay, who is at Beaugency. Mr. Graff au magasin de dentelles Rue des deux portes St. Sauveur. Beaumarchais the author of the too famous Comedy *la folle journée ou le mariage de Figaro* was taken up the other day, immediately after supper, and carried to St. Lazare where he is imprisoned. I ask'd of somebody what reasons were given for the measure. That is the beauty of the french government, said the gentleman; to lock up a Man without saying why nor wherefore. It is supposed that it was because Beaumarchais wrote a song upon a mandement¹ of the Archbishop of Paris, which warned his People, not to go to see the Comedy, and not to buy the edition of Voltaire that Beaumarchais is printing, or because in a Letter which he printed some days since in the

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Journal de Paris, he boasted of having surmonté tigres et Lions pour faire jouer sa piece. By tigers and Lions he meant the king and his ministers who were very averse to *Figaro's* being acted: but the Queen who favoures it extremely prevailed, and the success the piece had is wonderful. It has run through 74. representations, and unless this event occasions its being stopp'd, it will probably be played a number more times. However that may be, Beaumarchais is not in an agreeable situation now. It is not an easy thing to get out of those prisons.

.....“facilis descensus Averni

.....

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras.
Hoc opus, hic labor est.”²

His friends it is said, are not sorry that he is taken up; but are very much offended at his being put into St. Lazare, where none but low fellows are sent: had he been conducted to the Bastille, they would have been quite silent.³

¹ A bishop's letter or mandate.

² “... easy is the descent to Avernus ... but to recall thy steps and pass out to the upper air, this is the task, this the toil!” from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Bk. VI, lines 126, 128–129 (*Virgil*, transl. H. Ruston Fairclough, 2 vols., N.Y., 1930, 1:514–515). Despite some errors in copying, JQA doubtless used the Brindley edition (p. 177), which he had purchased the day before.

³ JQA's account of Beaumarchais' outspoken attack is essentially correct. On reading *Le mariage de Figaro*, Louis XVI determined never to allow it to be played, but was forced by court pressure and by the persuasion of his wife, Marie Antoi-

nette, to allow a private performance in Sept. 1783. This was followed a year later with a public production, which proved an instant success, especially effective in its assault upon the ancien régime and the censorship of the press. Beaumarchais' replies to his critics at this time offended a prince of the blood, who asked Louis to arrest him. Finally, after public outrage, the French playwright was released from St. Lazare on 15 March (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*; entry for 15 March, below). On 16 April JQA bought a copy of Beaumarchais' play (n.p., 1785), which is now in the JQA pamphlet collection at MBAt.

14TH.

Walk'd into Paris in the morning. *Hôtel de York Rue Jacob*. Mr. Pickman set away for England by the Diligence, at noon. Found Mr. Boling at the Hotel de York. He arrived in Paris only three or four days ago. Mr. West of Philadelphia, arrived from London, at the Hôtel; before Mr. Pickman went away: he said he had a letter from Mr. Jackson, for my father.¹ I went with Mr. Boling, to the hotel de Bretagne, and saw Mr. Waring, who thinks of

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going to England, in the Course of next week. Returned to Auteuil on foot. The walk was too long. The distance from the village to the place de Louis 15. is more than 3 miles and I did not walk less than 2. about the City. A Large Company to dine with us. Mr. Brantsen, the Dutch Ambassador extraordinary, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Marquis and Marquise de la Fayette, Mr. and Mrs. Rooker, Miss Ramsay, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, and Coll. Humphreys, Mr. Williamos, &c. Mr. and Mrs. Rooker lately arrived in Paris and propose staying here about a fort'night. They came in a very dull time for, the Theatres were shut up last Sunday, for Three weeks, as they are yearly. The only public amusements open during that time are at the foire St. Germain, and three concerts a week at the Chateau des Tuileries.

¹ See entry for 16 March, note 1 (below).

15TH.

Paris in the afternoon, with Mr. A. Got of Froullé, the Horace and Ovid of Brindleys edition.¹ While I was in the Shop, we heard a little bell in the Street; immediately every body in the shop, but myself, fell on their knees, and began to mutter prayers and cross themselves. It was a priest, carrying *le bon dieu*, to a dying man. This is one of the most revered ceremony of the Romish Religion. Whenever this bell rings, (which is to inform People, that god is passing by) every man woman and child fall upon their knees and remain so till it has passd quite by. Every carriage that meets it, even the kings, is obliged to stop; and the persons in it bend the knee: formerly they were obliged to get out of the carriage and kneel in the street: but this is no longer customary. The Priest that performs this ceremony is called *porte-dieu*. (The word is to revolting for me to translate it.)

Louis 15 revenant du palais de la justice, ou il venait d'exercer un acte d'autorité envers le parlement de Paris, rencontra au bas du Pont Neuf le viatique de la paroisse Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. Tout son cortège royal s'arrêta; il descendit précipitamment de son carrosse, se mit à genoux dans les boues, et le prêtre sortant de dessous son daïs, jadis rouge, lui donna la bénédiction. Le peuple émerveillé de cet acte pieux, oublia l'acte d'autorité qui lui déplaisait, et se mit à crier *vive le roi!* Et tout le long du jour il répéta: *il s'est mis a genoux dan les boues!*

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Le *porte-dieu* à qui cette bonne chance arriva, eut une pension de la cour.

Tableau de Paris vol: 4: ch: 28. title *porte-dieu*

Went to see Messrs. les abbés. Abbé Arnoux told me that Beaumarchais was set at Liberty. I imagine he will be pretty humble, after this lesson. We spent all the evening with Mr. Jefferson.

¹ Horace, *Opera*, London, 1744; Ovid, *Opera*, 5 vols., London, 1745; both are inscribed "J.Q. Adams, Paris, March 15, 1785" (*Catalogue of JQA's Books*).

16TH.

Mr. West, came out, and brought to Mr. Adams, two letters from Mr. Jackson.¹

¹ Jonathan Jackson to JA, 25 Feb. (Adams Papers); the other letter has not been found and is not mentioned in JA's reply of 18 March (LbC, Adams Papers).

17TH.

Dined at Dr. Franklin's with a considerable large Company. Mr. Brillon,¹ an old french gentleman very gay and talkative. Young Mr. Chaumont² who goes to America by the April packet from l'Orient. Mr. Boling, a descendent of an Indian Queen, of somewhat a dark complexion, and his manners, are not perfectly pleasing to the Ladies. Mr. Norris, an American Quaker, turned Catholic. His turns of mind seems rather melancholic, and while Mr. B. gave himself up to unbounded laughter at the wit of our old french guest, Mr. N. did not relax one feature of his face: he hardly spoke a word the whole time. Mr. Dalrymple, Secretary to Mr. Crawford the British Commissary, for making a Treaty of Commerce with France. The Treaty of Commerce, is said to be just as far advanced as it was, when Mr. C. left England, which was about 9 months ago. In the meantime Mr. C. is determined to be of some service to his Country and has been employing his time in forming a project, to pay off the national debt of G. Britain which he proposes to accomplish by borrowing more money. He pretends that his scheme will suit as well for America as for England; and in that he is very right. This project has nothing in common with my dining at Dr. Franklin's, but the anecdote is so curious that I cannot help taking notice of it, here. But it must be known that Mr. C. is a great partisan for Mesmer, who he says,

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has, mended his health very materially. I think however, that a few grains of hellebore, would be of still more use to him. Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, and Commodore Jones, Coll. Humphreys', and Mr. Williamos, and several other gentlemen dined at the Doctor's. The old gentleman, is perfectly well, except the Stone, which prevents him from riding in a Coach, and even from walking; he says he is determined to return to America this Spring. The motion of a Vessel, would not, he thinks, be painful to him.

¹ M. de Jouy Brillion, receiver-general of trusts of Parlement, who lived at Passy and was a friend of Franklin (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 5:42; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 4:46-47).

² Jacques Le Ray de Chaumont, also known as James Le Ray, was the son of Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, the commissary of the American fleet and

landlord of Franklin at Passy. Young Chaumont was about to begin a tour of America; he returned in 1790 representing European land speculation interests in northern New York, where he lived for the next forty years (Franklin B. Hough, *American Biographical Notes . . .*, Albany, 1875, p. 254; JA to John Hancock, 14 April, LbC, Adams Papers).

18TH.

Paris afternoon. Went to see Mr. and Mrs. Rooker and Mr. West, but neither were at home. Walk'd an hour in the Palais Royal: met Mr. Waring there: he tells me that Beaumarchais has written to the king, to complain for his having been sent to St. Lazare. I got of Froullé, the Juvenal with Monsr. Dusaulx's translation.¹

¹ *Satires de Juvénal, traduites par M. Dusaulx*, Paris, 1770 (MQA).

20TH.

My father went to Versailles in the morning to see the Count de Vergennes, upon the subject of a Treaty between the U. States, and the Powers of Barbary. The Emperor of Morocco has taken an American vessel belonging to Mr. Fitz Simmons of Philadelphia.¹ He has made the Master and the crew prisoners; but has not suffered them to be made slaves. He has ordered his People not to take any more untill Congress may send a Consul to him: and he offers to treat with us, upon the same footing that he does with all the Powers of Europe. This matter gives the American Commissioners, a great deal of trouble at present. Mr. West, Mr. Norris, Mr. Waring and Mr. Boling dined with us. I promised Mr. West to introduce him to the Marquis de la

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Fayette, someday this week. Mr. Boling sets off for London tomorrow. The Foire St. Germain² closed last evening.

¹ For this incident and its significance for relations between the United States and Mediterranean powers, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:173–174 and references there.

² A Paris fair devoted more to amusements than to business and trade, which

began on 3 Feb. and ended on the Saturday before Palm Sunday; its popularity destroyed by the Galeries du Palais Royal, it closed in 1786 (Jacques Antoine Dulaure, *Histoire civile, physique et moral de Paris*, 10 vols., Paris, 1825, 8:197–199).

23D.

Paris. Hotel de York, rue Jacob: for Mr. West. I went with him and presented him to the Marquis de la Fayette, and afterwards to Mr. Jefferson. Walk'd after that, in the Palais Royal. This place furnishes a vast fund of entertainment to an observer. It is the most frequented walk in Paris. At every hour of the day, and of the night too, you will never fail of finding company there, and it is very curious to see the different dresses and appearances of the People you find there. Dined at the hotel de York with Mr. Rooker. In the afternoon the Ladies went to Auteuil, and I went with Mr. West, to the *Theâtre des Varietés*, to see *le sieur Pinetti*¹ *professeur de Physique, Mathématiques, &c.* perform his *Experiences*. Le sieur Pinetti, is a very great quack, and his *Experiences*, are nothing but a parcel of jugglers tricks, which every mountebank of a fair, performs as well for 12 sols, as he does for 6. livres. He had not much Company this evening; I suppose on account of the *promenade de Longchamps*, which began this day.

¹ Doubtless, the conjurer Giuseppe Pinetti de Willedal, author of *Amusemens physiques, et différentes expériences divertissantes, composées & exécutées, tant à Paris que dans les diverses cours de l'Europe*, Paris, 1784.

24TH.

Mr. Adams and the Ladies went to the church of St. Sulpice, and afterwards to Longchamps. This day the king washes the feet of 12 poor children in imitation of our Saviour's washing those of the apostles. The kings brothers serve those children at dinner, and they have some peculiar privileges; such as being pardoned twice for crimes for which any other persons would be hang'd &c. Some of the great noblemen, follow the example of the king; and the archbishop of Paris performs the same ceremony at the Church of Nôtre Dame.

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25TH.

Good Friday. Went in the afternoon to Longchamps. This is the last Day. Every year; the wednesday, thursday, and friday, of the week preceding Esther, which is called *Semaine Sainte*, there is a kind of procession in the Bois de Boulogne, and it is called Longchamps. There are perhaps each of those Days a thousand carriages, that come out of Paris to go round one of the Roads in the wood one after the other. There are two rows of carriages, one goes up and the other down so that the People in every carriage, can see all the others. Every body that has got a splendid carriage, a fine set of horses, or an elegant Mistress, send them out on these days to make a show at longchamps. As all the Théâtres, and the greatest part of the public amusements, are shut all this week, the concourse is always very considerable for those, that cannot go there to be seen, go to see, and as it commonly happens upon the like occasions, there are always twenty to see for one there is to be seen. It is very genteel, for there are always there some of the first people in the kingdom. The hours are from five to seven, by which time very few carriages remain there; for they all go off together, so that one quarter of an hour before the place is entirely deserted, the concourse is the greatest. The origin of this curious custom, was this. There is a convent of women called *Longchamps*, somewhere near the Bois de Boulogne, where formerly, there was some very fine music, performed on these days, which drew a vast number of Persons out from Paris to hear it: but one year there was an uncommon concourse, and some disorders happened, which induced the Archbishop of Paris, to forbid this music on these days, but the Public, who had commonly taken a ride round part of the wood after hearing the music, continued taking the latter part of the amusement, when they were deprived of the first, and the custom has been kept up, to this day.

After it was over we went and drank tea with Dr. Franklin. Saw Mr. Dalrymple there. The weather is very cold and disagreeable yet.

26TH.

Paris afternoon. Froullé, books upon astronomy. Went to see Mr. West and Mr. Waring but neither was at home. Messieurs *Van den Yver* bankers *Ruë Royale, Butte St. Roch*.¹ Spent part of

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the evening with the abbés. While I was there a Gentleman came in, who was a great partisan, for animal magnetism, that he very strenuously defended. Speaking of Dr. Franklin, he said j'aime beaucoup M: Franklin, c'est un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de génie; je suis seulement fâché pour lui, qu'il ait signé ce rapport des Commissaires. He spoke this with so much naïveté that I could not help smiling. When he went away the abbés told me he was a man, worth 50,000 livres a year, of an exceeding benevolent disposition, and that he does a great deal of good: a sensible man, but very firmly persuaded of the reality of animal magnetism. *Mesmer* the pretended discoverer, has certainly as yet, behaved like a mountebank, and yet he has persuaded a great number of People, and some persons of great Sense and learning, that he has made an important discovery. An extraordinary System, a great deal of mystery, and the art of making People, pay a hundred louis d'ors for a secret which no body receives, have persuaded almost half this kingdom, that Mesmer really has the secret that he pretends to have.

¹ Van den Yver Frères was the Paris agent for W. and J. Willink, Amsterdam bankers. On this day JA drew an order of 4,800 livres on the firm for JQA (*Diary and Autobiography*, 3:172).

27TH.

Sunday. Mr. Adams dined with Mr. de St. Olympe's and spent the evening at Mr. Jefferson's. At about seven o'clock in the evening the Queen, was delivered of a Son, who is *Monseigneur le Duc de Normandie*:¹ this is one of the most important events that can happen in this kingdom; and every Frenchman has been expecting it, as if the fate of his life depended upon it. One would think that after having a Dauphin they would be easy, and quiet, but say they, the Dauphin is young and may die; and tho' the king has two brothers one of whom has several children, yet the Capital point is that the crown should pass down eternally from father to Son: insomuch that they would prefer being governed by a fool or a tyrant, that should be the Son of his predecessor, than by a sensible and good prince, who should only be a brother. The Canons announced to us the birth of the Prince. The Queen was taken ill only an hour before her delivery, a Circumstance which must have been very agreeable to her, for a few minutes before she is delivered, the doors of her apartment are always

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opened, and every body that pleases is admitted, to see the child come into the world, and if there had been time enough, all Paris would have gone *pour voir accoucher la Reine*. The name of the young Duke of Normandy, is not yet known.

¹ Louis Charles de France (1785–1795), later Louis XVII (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*).

28TH.

Snow in the morning sufficient to cover the ground. Dined at the Marquis de la Fayette's. When I arrived there the Marquis was not returned from Versailles, where he went last evening immediately upon hearing of the Queen's delivery, but could not get there soon enough to be present at the Christening. He told me a curious Circumstance. The Queen was so large, that it was suspected she might have twins, and *Mr. de Calonne*, the controuler general had prepared two *blue ribbands*, in case two Princes should be born, for the kings children must be decorated with those badges, immediately after they come into the world. The Count¹ and Chevalier de la Luzerne dined with us. After dinner I went with Mr. West to see Mr. and Mrs. Rucker, and afterwards we took a walk together in the Palais Royal. It is curious to hear the sagacious reflections and remarks upon the event of yesterday, made by the *badauds*: and it is pleasing to see how joyful how contented they look. All take the title given to the Prince, as a doubtless presage, of his future Conquests, and are firmly perswaded that it was expressly given him, that England may be a second time subdued by a Duke of Normandy: if they dared, they would mention another point, in which, the pretended conqueror may resemble the real one.² The *Palais Royal*, the Spanish Ambassador's hotel, the Hôtel des Invalides, the Ecole militaire, and several other buildings were illuminated in the evening.

¹ César Henri, Comte de La Luzerne, administrator and brother of the Chevalier de La Luzerne (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

² Common speculation was that the young duc might be a bastard like William the Conqueror, his predecessor to the title. From 1783 to 1787 there was a liaison

between Marie Antoinette and Count Axel de Fersen, colonel commandant of the Royal Swedish Regiment in the French army. While rumors abounded, there is no hard evidence that the Duc de Normandie was Fersen's son (Philippe Huisman and Marguerite Jallut, *Marie Antoinette*, London, 1971, p. 156–157).

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29TH.

Dr. Franklin's early in the morning. Coll. Humphreys breakfasted with us, and went with Mr. Adams to Versailles, where they were presented *for the first time*, to the new born Prince, who received them in bed: there were half a dozen ladies in the chamber. There were three beds joining each other, and in the middle one laid *M: le Duc*. Probably that in the night one of the Ladies sleep in each of the other beds to prevent Monseigneur from falling out. The king was exceedingly gay, and happy, and his brothers *appeared* so too.

30TH.

Mr. Adams dined at the Spanish Ambassador's, Count d'Aranda, an old man 70 years of age, who married, last year a young woman of 20. Peace be with him!

31ST.

Madame de la Fayette sent a Card¹ to offer us places for the Te Deum, which is to be sung tomorrow at Nôtre Dame, when the king is to be present. Mr. Adams dined at Count *Sarsfield's*.²

¹ Not found.

² A social and intellectual friend of the Americans in Paris, Guy Claude, Comte de Sarsfield, was a French military officer of Irish extraction, who lived in Paris and

traveled frequently between the Netherlands, London, and Paris, where he was often in JA's company (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:381).

FRIDAY APRIL 1ST. 1785.

The Marchioness appointed two o'clock for us to be at her Hôtel. We dined at half after twelve, and were in the Rue de Bourbon at two, but it was too early. Mrs. Rucker, Mr. Jefferson, Coll. Humphreys, Mr. Williamos, Mr. West, went all with us. At about half past three we went from the Marquis's hôtel and by the time we got to the Pont Royal, both sides of the quay were so amazingly crowded with People, that there was but just space sufficient for the carriages to pass along: and had there not been guards placed on both sides at a distance not greater than ten yards from one another, there would have been no passage at all for coaches. For as it was, the troops had the utmost difficulty to restrain the mob: we pass'd along, on the Quai des Augustins till we came to the *Pont Neuf*, went over part of that, turn'd down

onto the *Isle de Nôtre Dame*; and then proceeded on in a direct line to the Church. We were placed in a gallery that commanded the choir, and were in as good a place as any in the Church, which we owed to the Politeness of Mme. de la Fayette. In the middle of the choir below us were several rows of benches, upon which the king's train sat when he came, while he and his two brothers were before all the benches, and directly opposite the altar. When we arrived we found the Parliament setting in the Choir on the right side, in scarlet and black Robes; the *Chambre des Comptes* were seated in the same manner on the left Sides, in black and white Robes. The Foreign Ambassadors were in an enclosure at the right of the altar, and between them and the parliament, was a small throne upon which the archbishop of Paris officiated. Soon after we got there the bishops arrived two by two. There were about twenty five of them. They had black Robes on, with a white muslin skirt which descended from the waste, down two thirds of the way to the ground; and a purple kind of a mantle over their shoulders. The Archbishop of Paris had a mitre upon his head. When the king came, he went out to the Door of the Church to receive him: and as soon as his Majesty had got to his place and fallen upon his knees, they began to sing the *Te Deum*, which lasted about half an hour, and in which we heard some exceeding fine music. The voices were admirable. The Archbishop of Paris sung for about a Couple of Minutes, near the end, that it might be said, he had sung the *Te Deum*. His voice seems to be much broken. As soon as the singing was over the king and the Court immediately went away.

What a charming sight: an absolute king of one of the most powerful Empires on earth, and perhaps a thousand of the first personages in that Empire, adoring the divinity who created them, and acknowledging that he can in a moment reduce them to the Dust from which they sprung. Could we suppose their Devotion real and sincere, no other proof would be necessary to demonstrate the falsity of the supposition that religion is going to decay. But oh! if the hearts of all those persons, could have been sounded, and everything that was lurking there while the exterior appeared offering up prayers to god, could be produced to light; I fear the rigid moralist, would have a confirmation of his fears. The reflection of the Chevalier de Gouvion¹ shew he was of this opinion. *I don't know* said he, *whether all this will be very acceptable to God almighty: but very few persons came here for*

him. I was however vastly pleased with the Ceremony; and should have been so, if it was only, that it gave me an opportunity to see so numerous an assembly of men, of the first rank in the kingdom. The king and all the court were dress'd in cloaths vastly rich but in no peculiar form.

After the Ceremony was finished, we had to wait a long time for our Carriages and could not at last get them all; so that we were obliged to go away, five in one Charriot. We returned to the Hôtel de la Fayette, and drank tea with Madam. A number of Houses, were considerably illuminated, but nothing to be compared to what there was six years ago, when the kings first child was born, although it was only a Princess. We returned home at about nine, and were more than half an hour getting over the Pont Neuf, such was the crowd of Carriages: in the passage of the *Cours la Reine*, we saw a number of fellows, throwing up the sand, to see if there were no 12 sols pieces remaining for upon these occasions, when the Mob cry out *vive le Roi*, he throws out of his Coach handfuls of small pieces of money, and is thereby the cause of many a squabble, and some broken heads, though the Police is so attentive that few such misfortunes happen.

The title of Duke of Normandy, has not been borne, by any person, for more than three hundred years, untill the birth of the young Prince.

¹ Doubtless, Jean Baptiste de Gouvion, a military engineer who served in the Continental Army; after Yorktown, he resumed his military career in France (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*; Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 1:234-237).

3D.

Mrs. and Miss Adams, went into Paris in the evening: and went with young Mr. Franklin and Mrs. Hewson¹ to the Concert Spiritual.²

¹ Mary (Polly) Hewson, daughter of Benjamin Franklin's London landlady, Margaret Stevenson. In 1770 she married Dr. William Hewson, who became a respected London physician and anatomist, but he wounded himself during a dissection in 1774 and subsequently died. Shortly thereafter, Franklin urged Polly, with whom he had a long and warm

friendship, to settle in America, but he did not succeed in his efforts until 1786. She was visiting him in Passy with her family in 1784-1785 (Franklin, *Papers*, 8:122; *DNB*).

² That is, a concert, composed largely of religious music, given during Holy Week when the theaters were closed (Littré, *Dict. de la langue française*).

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4TH.

All the family dined with the Marquis de la Fayette, who entertains all the Americans every Monday. There were however very few there this Day. Le Chevalier de la Touche, General Armand,¹ and some other french gentlemen dined there. Mr. Williamos promised to get me a ticket for the Session of the *Academie des Sciences* on Wednesday.

¹ Louis René Madeleine Le Vassor, Comte de La Touche-Tréville, who briefly served as commander of the French West Indian squadron during the American Revolution, was director, under the Marquis de Castries, of the Ministry for the Marine Department; Armand Charles Tuffin, Marquis de La Rouërie, known in

America as Col. Armand, was a highly commended volunteer in American service during the Revolution (Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787*, Princeton, 1975, p. 221-222; Jefferson, *Papers*, 10:221; Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 2:454-462).

6TH.

Went and dined in Paris with Mr. Jefferson. Immediately after dinner Coll. Humphreys, Mr. Williamos and myself went to the Louvre, where the Academy were setting, but we were so late that we could not get places, to sit, and the Room was much crowded. Several memoirs were read, but all in such technical expressions that I could not understand much of them. There was also read an *éloge* of some German, I did not perfectly make out his name. It is an established custom in this Academy, that at every Session the Secretary reads a short account of the Life, and of the productions, of the Members of the Academy, that died since the preceding Session. Coll. Humphreys finding there was no good place, went immediately away: Mr. Williamos and I stay'd till about five o'clock: and then retired, as we saw no Prospect of getting in a better situation, and as we were not quite at our ease on account of the crowd. We afterwards went to the Hôtel de Bretagne, Rue de Richeslieu, where we found Mr. West. Mr. Williamos soon after returned to Mr. Jefferson's, and I went with West to the Théâtre des Variétés in the Palais Royal. *Fausses Consultations; à bon vin point d'Enseigne. Boniface Pointu et sa famille: Les pêcheurs Provençaux* a ballet.¹ The last piece but one, is the best I have seen upon this Stage: I was much surprized to find but very little Company in the House, which was not above half full: but the public are very capricious. After the



10. THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, BY JOSEPH BOZE, 1790
See pages xiv–xv

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entertainment was over we walk'd half an hour under the *arcades*.

¹ Louis François Archambault Dorvigny, *Les fausses consultations*, Paris, 1781; *A bon vin point d'enseigne*, Paris, 1781, by Phillippe Alexandre Louis Pierre Plancher-Valcour, called Aristide Val-

cour; Charles Jacob Guillemain, *Boniface Pointu et sa famille*, Paris, 1782; Anon., *Les pêcheurs provençaux*, first performed at the Variétés Amusantes the previous evening (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

7TH.

Mrs. Hewson, and her children Mr. Franklin, Mr. Ruston,¹ Mrs. Barclay, and Mr. West dined with us. Mrs. Hewson, goes next week for England.

¹ Dr. Thomas Ruston, who practiced medicine in London and Exeter and wrote numerous essays on American finance. He was briefly visiting Jefferson and Franklin in Paris before his permanent return to

Philadelphia later in the year (James McLachlan, *Princetonians, 1748-1758: A Biographical Dictionary*, Princeton, 1976, p. 402-407).

9TH.

In the afternoon went into Paris. Carried 21. Louis d'ors to Mrs. Barclay. Got of Froullé an Eutropius, and a Historiae Augustae Scriptores;¹ called at Mr. West's lodgings but he was not at home. Walked half an hour in the Palais Royal. Not much Company. Met Captn. Paul Jones, and Mr. *Starke*,² who offered to take any thing for the Hague. He goes on Monday. Went to Mr. Jefferson's and spent the evening there. They are all ill with Colds: Mr. Williamos was not there: the Marquis de la Fayette came in while I was there. He is going into the Country in a short time. He talk'd upon various subjects; and among others concerning the Dukes and Peers, he said, he did not believe that upon the face of the Earth, an order of men could be found, so numerous, in which there are so few men of Sense: they are a parcel of fools, said he and in the whole band there are not more than five or six men of any tolerable understanding. The only privilege of any consequence attached to their title is, the right to take a seat in Parliament: where if they had any ambition and abilities, they might serve to counterpoise in some manner the power of the king: but he gives them to understand, that he wishes they would not go to the Parliament and in true Courtiers they give up this precious right. "I³ am continually spurring them up, (continued he) and I tell them, it is folly in them

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not to assert their rights, but all without effect, and among all those I know, the only one of knowledge and abilities, I am acquainted with is the Duke de la Rochefoucauld:⁴ he is a true patriot; but is not an eloquent man, and being entirely alone, he can do nothing." I thought the Marquis spoke somewhat openly and freely for a french nobleman: especially for one so nearly allied as he is to two or three Dukes. Perhaps he thought that among Americans, he could freely speak his mind without any danger.

¹ Flavius Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, Leyden, 1762 (Catalogue of JQA's Books); *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, et Flavius Vopiscus*, Leyden, 1661. Both are now at MQA.

² Possibly Edward Stack, an Irish officer attached to the French navy on Jones' *Bonhomme Richard* (Augustus C. Buell, *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy*:

A History, 2 vols., N.Y., 1902, 2:2-3; *A Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, comp. Charles Henry Lincoln, Washington, 1903, p. 191-192).

³ Quotation marks have been editorially supplied.

⁴ Louis Alexandre, Duc de La Rochefoucauld d'Enville, who took an active interest in French science and learning and politics (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*).

10TH.

Mr. Jefferson came out to Auteuil in the morning. Count Sarsfield walk'd out. Fine weather though somewhat cold. Some rain too is wanted very much, there has been none these four months, and very little Snow.

11TH.

Dined with Mr. Adams at the Marquis de la Fayette's. There was not much American Company: M: le Marquis de St. Simon,¹ who has served in America. Mr. Grandchamp, Capitaine de Vaisseau, and M: le Marquis de Rosanbot premier president au Parlement de Paris. Mr. Ruston was there. This is the first comfortable day we have had this Season: the roads are exceedingly dusty for want of Rain. Madam Helvetius,² one of our neighbours is very ill. Mrs. A. sent to know how, she was, and received a curious handbill for answer.³

¹ Probably Claude Anne de Rouvroy, Marquis de Saint-Simon-Montbléru, commander of the army from the West Indies, who was at Yorktown (Howard C. Rice Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, transls. and eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1972, 1:325-326).

² Anne Catherine de Ligniville d'Autricourt Helvétius, widow of the philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius, was a close friend of Franklin, and neighbor and social acquaintance of the Adamses (AA to Lucy Cranch, 5 Sept. 1784, AA, *Letters*, ed. CFA, 1848, p. 199-200).

³ Not found.

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12TH.

Mr. Williamos came out in the morning, and went with Mr. A, to Versailles. Good weather: very mild; but rain is much wanted.

14TH.

Marquis de la Fayette and his Lady, Count and Countess *d'Ouradou* the Abbés de Chalût and Arnoux dined with us. M: *d'Ouradou*, is a french nobleman, of Auvergne who possessed a very considerable estate, but has lately been almost ruined, by the loss of a lawsuit, which after he had gained twice, was finally, unjustly decided against him: Moliere says somewhere, with great truth: nothing is so unjust as the justice of this Country. The Count intends at present to go to America, and with the wreck of his fortune, which will amount, to 100, or 150 thousand livres, he means to buy an estate in Virginia, and settle there, as mediocrity of fortune, can be more easily borne, there than in this Country. He leaves his title here, and as he has a Son; if he or any of his descendents acquire a fortune, sufficient to support the title; they may return here and resume it again. M: Hailes the secretary of the English Embassy, dined with us also. Count Sarsfield came, and spent some time with us after dinner: I received a Card from Mr. West, who is very ill. In the morning I went to Passy, and carried some Letters of Introduction to M: Le Rey de Chaumont, who goes to America, by this Months Packet, and who set off for L'orient this day. The February packet, that sailed from New York the 19th. is at length, arrived, but no body as yet has any Letters, except the Marquis de la Fayette.

15TH.

Went to Paris in the morning with Mr. A. At the Pont Royal, I got out of the Carriage, and went to see my friend Mr. West. He has been ever since Tuesday, afflicted, with an inflammatory Rheumatism: what makes it insupportable, is that he has it in his right hand, which is very much swelled: and though he is here upon business, and has received several letters of consequence, which require immediate answers, he cannot do any thing. I sat with him sometime, and from the *Hôtel de Bretagne, Rue de Richelieu*, where he is I went on foot to Mr. Jefferson's,

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who was out: found my father there; and as Mr. Jefferson, did not return, we came away, after staying, half an hour.

16TH.

Went with Mrs. A into Paris in the afternoon. Got a book of Pissot,¹ and Brindley's *Terence, la folle journée*, and Vossius de hist. grae: of Froullé.² Left the Ladies, on the quai des Augustins, and went to see Mr. West, whose hand is still very much swelled. The Ladies came, in the evening, and took me at the Hôtel de Bretagne.

¹ Pissot, a publishing firm in Paris. The book has not been identified.

² Terence, *Comoediae sex*, London, J. Brindley edn., 1744 (at MQA); Gerard John Vos, *De Historicis Graecis libri quatuor*, The Hague, 1624. For *La folle journée*, see entry for 12 March, note 3 (above).

18TH.

Mr. D'Asp, the secretary of the Swedish Embassy, came out and dined with us *en famille*. After dinner I went into Paris. Mr. West is still very ill: his hand is swollen amazingly: his spirits were very low when I went there: but before I came away he began to be quite sociable. He spoke of Mr. B—g—m; who with his Lady left Paris, Sunday the 10th. instn. Mr. W: seems to have of Mr. B. very nearly the same opinion I have, that he is very ignorant, very vain, and very empty. He is very rich: but if he acquired his riches in the manner Mr. W. tells me he did; he is hardly authorised to plume himself upon them as much as he does. That he is extremely ignorant, I think the following anecdote which is literally true, will sufficiently prove. I was with him one evening last winter at the French Comedy. *La mort de César* a Tragedy of Voltaire's¹ was acted. After it was over the following Conversation, took place between him and me; exactly as it is here.

Mr. B. Oh; how much Superior to this is Shakespeare's Julius Caesar! *<to this!>*

A. Voltaire to be sure was not comparable to Shakespeare in point of genius, but his play is more regular.

B. Regular! Why he has not introduced the Battle of Philippi; nor does he bring Augustus upon the Stage.

A. But if I remember right the Battle of Philippi did not happen till more than a year after the Death of Caesar, and has

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nothing to do in that event. So that all three unities must be broken through to introduce it. Nor could Augustus appear for the same reason.

B. What do you mean by unities.

A. You know very well Sir, that plays upon the french Stage, are confined, to 24 hours for time, to one and the same place, and to one plot for action, and....²

B. Oh, you are entirely mistaken! Why do you think Shakespeare did not know the rules of the Stage, and yet he brings Augustus, and the action at Philippi on, in his piece. Besides, Voltaire supposes that Brutus was the Son of Caesar, which is contrary to history; and would it not be absurd to be so strict upon such trifles as you are speaking of, and yet take such licences as to suppose Brutus to be the Son of Caesar.

Finding it would be in vain to say any thing more of the Rules of the Drama, I was determined to see if he was as well inform'd upon the Subject of History so I replied You know that several historians hint, that Caesar was supposed to be the father of Brutus, and that he supposed so himself: and any Poet has a right to make use of any such Circumstances, and to give for a certainty, what in fact was only a supposition.

B. No Sir, not one historian mentions any such a connection between them.

A. I think Suetonius says, that when Brutus stab'd Caesar, among the rest, Caesar said in greek *Are you with them, my Son?* We have no better authority than Suetonius, for there are very few original historians of that period, remaining.

B. He certainly did not speak in Greek: he said *et tu Brute*. I don't know what Suetonius may say, but *Rollin*, in his Roman history does not mention a word of it; and do you think he could have omitted so important a circumstance, if there had been any truth in it? As you say there, are not many original historians of *that period* extant. I think there are only Suetonius, and LIVY, and Plutarch and HERODOTUS.

Here our conversation finish'd. I was amazed to see a man, with so many pretensions to great knowledge, as Mr. B. had, entirely ignorant of the rules of the Drama: and in a point of Roman History quote the authority of Rollin, against that of Suetonius. But I have since found that he spoke without knowledge, even on the Subject of Rollin: for that author speaking of Brutus, says, that notwithstanding his conduct, Caesar loved him, as the

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Son of Servilia, and perhaps as his own. If a boy of 18 years old, can detect Mr. B. in such gross errors, in Questions so plain, and so universally understood: how empty must he appear before a person, of ripe Judgment, and deep knowledge.

Should anyone see this he might say what has Mr. B. done to you to make you treat him so? I answer, nothing but what he does to every body else. He is as vain and self sufficient as he is ignorant: and assumes airs of superiority, not only over me (which would not perhaps be improper) but over persons of much more real merit than he is, or than he ever will be, if I am not much mistaken. He has never done me any harm; nor has he ever had it, (thank god) in his power to hurt me, but I have no obligations to him, nor ever will, if I can help it. The only knowledge he appears to possess well, is Commercial: of that he has had sufficient to make a very considerable fortune, which has turn'd the little brains he had.

Those who their ignorance confest
I ne'er offended with a jest.
But laugh to hear an idiot quote
A verse from Horace learnt by rote.

When I came home from Paris, I found Letters for me from Mr. Dumas and C. Storer.³

¹ Published in Amsterdam, 1735 (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

² JQA's ellipsis.

³ The Storer letter is probably that of

12 April (Adams Papers), while the only extant Dumas letter to JQA for this period is 1 April (Adams Papers), probably too early to be referred to here.

19TH.

Went all to dine with Mr. Jefferson. The two abbés Dr. McMahon¹ and Dr. Ruston, were there. After dinner I walk'd to the Hôtel de Bretagne, and found Mr. West better, though his hand is still very much swelled. Dr. Ruston appears to be a man of learning; very well versed in English reading.

¹ Dr. I. MacMahon was apparently an Irish physician living in France whom Franklin met in Paris shortly after the beginning of the Revolution; he became a member of the American minister's social

circle, a source of some American news, and a partisan for both America and his native Ireland (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., index).

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21ST.

In the morning Coll. Humphreys, and Mr. Williamos, called upon me, and I went out with them as far as *St. Germain en Laye* where James the 2d. held his Court after he was driven away from England; and where Mr. Short, has been these 6 weeks learning the french Language. We went through the Bois de Boulogne, and over the *Pont de Neuilli*. The distance from Paris to St. Germain is about 12 miles. We go along by the side of the Seine, almost all the way: the Lands are either cultivated in wheat, or in Vines for the most Part. The road is very good. St. Germain, is situated, on the top of a hill, which is not very steep, but which I suppose to be a mile long. I should imagine it contains about 10,000 inhabitants but may be much mistaken, as I guess only from the apparent extent of the town: a great number of them are the descendents from those british families that follow'd the fortunes of James the 2d. The Castle which he inhabited belongs as I was told, to the King, and has a charming terrass before it. We descended at the *Prince de Galles* tavern, and went immediately to Mr. Shorts lodgings but found he was out: we then walk'd about the place, which is very agreeably situated. From the terrass you may see *Mont Calvaire*, *Montmartre*, and the Church of the Invalids. In a clear day I suppose part of Paris may be also seen from thence. Mr. Short came to us, and dined with us. Mr. Williams, is gone to Paris, to set off for England. His Lady¹ and the *Alexander* family live in the Castle, but were not to be seen this day: on account of the Death of a friend. After dinner we walk'd again, in the Gardens of the *Maréchal de Noailles*,² grandfather of the Marquise de la Fayette, who owns here a fine house and a good Estate. Mr. Short is vastly pleased with St. Germain, and thinks it a very excellent place for learning the Language. If we may judge from him it is certainly so: for he has made a wonderful proficiency in the short space of time he has been there. We left him about five, and as we return'd we look'd at the Machine de Marli, which is very famous, but which appears to me very clumsy; and it is very complicated so that I could not understand any thing in it. The principle is very simple. The current of the river sets a number of mills going; they put in motion a quantity of pumps which transport water from that place to Versailles about 2 leagues distant from it. But this machine was built more than a century ago, and has been very

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much celebrated; if it were to be built at present, it would be considered in a ridiculous light. When we return'd we found Mr. and Mm. d'Ouradou getting into their Carriage, to return: they had been some time here. Mrs. and Miss A. were gone to Paris. Mr. Jefferson was with my father. Young Mr. Franklin is very ill of a fever. It seems to be a sickly Time.

¹ Mariamne Alexander, wife of Franklin's grandnephew Jonathan Williams Jr., daughter of William Alexander, and granddaughter of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh of the same name (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 5:5; *Jefferson, Papers*,

7:256).

² Louis de Noailles, Duc d'Ayen from 1737, Duc de Noailles from 1766, and Maréchal de France, 1775 (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale; Dict. de la noblesse*).

22D.

Mr. A. received in the morning a Card from Dr. Franklin¹ informing him that a person who came in the Packet had called upon him last evening: and told him he had a paquet for my father addressed at the Hague. My father immediately went to Dr. Franklin's, and from thence to the Hôtel d'Orleans, where he found two gentlemen who came in the Packet. Mr. Jervais,² an American, and Mr. Lefevre, a French man, whom I saw two years ago at Hamborough. I left Mr. A. at the *Place de Louis Quinze* and went on foot to the Hôtel de Bretagne, where I found Mr. West, who is much better, though his hand is as much swelled as ever. When I had been there about 1/2 an hour, Mr. A: came and took me up. We went to Mr. Jefferson's. Mr. A. received a Letter from Mr. Gerry and a packet from Mr. Jay,³ by Mr. Jarvis, Who came out with Mr. Lefevre and spent the evening at Auteuil.

¹ Not found.

² James Jarvis was described by Elbridge Gerry as "lately of Boston, but formerly of this City [New York], Son in Law to Mr. [Samuel] Broom." Jarvis had been a

New York merchant before the Revolution (Gerry to JA, 14 Feb., *Adams Papers*; *Jefferson, Papers*, 8:178, 247).

³ Gerry to JA, 14 Feb. (*Adams Papers*); Jay to JA, 11 Feb. (*Adams Papers*).

23D.

In the afternoon I went into Paris. Saw Mr. West and Dr. Ruston who propose going to England, next week. I afterwards went to see for a Cabriolet; I saw several, but they ask 120 livres for the hire of one, from this place to L'Orient. Spent the evening

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with Mr. Jefferson, who is a great admirer of Ossian's poems: which he thinks are indisputably genuine.¹

¹ *The Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh, 1762, were allegedly translated from authentic Gaelic by the Scottish poet James Macpherson. Dr. Samuel Johnson, among others, thought that they were traditional elements blended together and passed off

as an ancient poem, a verdict generally agreed upon after Macpherson's death. Jefferson had maintained a strong interest in the work for years (Jefferson, *Papers*, 1:96-97; 100-102).

24TH.

Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Lefevre, came out and dined with us. Mr. Jarvis offers me the carriage they came in from L'Orient: but it is at Versailles.

25TH.

The Ladies dined with the Marquis de la Fayette. We went there before dinner. Mr. Williamos tells me the Abbé de Mably is dead. He was very old; not less I think, than 78. Yet although it is probable, that had he lived many years longer, I should not have seen him, above once more, still I was much affected at the news, because he was not only a man of great genius, and learning, but was one of the best men in the world.

A wit's a feather, and a chief's a Rod,
An honest man, is the noblest work of God¹

He has written a number of works, that are published, and he has left several to appear after him. 2. vols. of *Observations upon the History of France*,² a *Treatise, sur le beau*, and another on the *Course of Passions in Society* are ready for the Press.³

We dined at Count Sarsfield's, where there was a small, but chosen Company. He shew us some of the drawings of Countess Spencer,⁴ which were exceedingly well done. In the evening, we went and took up the Ladies at the Marquis's.

¹ "An Essay on Man," Epistle IV, lines 247-248.

² Mably's *Observations sur l'histoire de France*, first published in 2 vols., Geneva, 1765, was continued by Claude Caroloman de Rulhière and published in 4 vols., in Kehl, Germany, 1788.

³ Mably's essays "Du Beau" and "Du Cours et de la marche des passions dans la

société" both appear in *Oeuvres completes* . . . , 16 vols., London, 1789-1795.

⁴ Lavinia Bingham, wife of the second Earl Spencer, was a leader of London society, befriending a large number of eminent men in politics and the arts; she was a painter and etcher (Thieme and Becker, *Lexikon*).

26TH.

I went in the morning to the Sweedish Ambassador's Hôtel to go with Mr. d'Asp, and see the Abbé Grenet, but I was too late and Mr. d'Asp was gone out, I went to see Mr. Jarvis: and afterwards Count d'Ouradou, at the hôtel de Nassau, Ruë de la Harpe. We agreed to go together to l'Orient. Went to see West, but did not find him at home. Walk'd in the Palais Royal, where I met Mr. Williamos; and as I had sent our carriage back to Auteuil and, it was too late to walk home, I went with him and dined at Mr. Jefferson's. A few minutes after Dinner, Some Letters came, in from America, and I was inform'd by Mr. J. that the Packet le Courier de L'Orient, which sail'd from New York, the 23d of March, is arrived: Mr. J. and Coll. Humphreys had Letters from Genl. Washington, and a Letter from Mr. Gerry, of Feby. 25th. says, Mr. Adams, is appointed Minister to the Court of London.¹ I believe he will promote the Interests of the United States, as much as any man: but I fear his Duty will induce him to make exertions which may be detrimental to his Health: I wish however it may be otherwise. Were I now to go with him, probably my immediate Satisfaction, might be greater than it will be in returning to America. After having been travelling for these seven years, almost all over Europe, and having been in the world and among Company for three: to return and spend one or two years in the Pale of a College, subjected to all the rules, which I have so long been freed from: then to plunge into the Dry and tedious study of the law; for three years, and afterwards not expect, (however good an Opinion I may have of myself), to bring myself into Notice, under three or four years more; if ever: it is really a Prospect some what discouraging for a youth of my Ambition (for I have Ambition, though I hope its object is laudable).

But still ... Oh! how wretched

Is that poor Man, that hangs on Princes favours.²

or on those of any body else. I am determined that as long as I shall be able to get my own living, in an honorable manner, I will depend upon no one. My father has been so much taken up all his lifetime, with the Interests of the public, that his own fortune has suffered by it: So that his children will have to provide for themselves; which I shall never be able to do, if I loiter away

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my precious time in Europe; and shun going home untill I am forced to it. With an ordinary share of common Sense, which I hope I enjoy, at least in America, I can live *independent* and *free*, and rather than live other wise, I would wish to die, before, the time, when I shall be left at my own Discretion. I have before me a striking example, of the distressing and humiliating Situation a person is reduced to by adopting a different line of Conduct and I am determined not to fall into the same error.³

I came out to Auteuil in the afternoon, with Mr. Jefferson, in his Carriage. Found Mr. Jarvis there. Dr. Franklin has a Letter by the last packet, dated March 22d.

¹ The congress appointed JA minister on 24 Feb., and he received his commission on 2 May (JCC, 28:98; *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:177).

² *King Henry VIII*, Act III, scene ii, lines 366–367.

³ JQA's allusions to financial independence and his decision to leave Europe suggest that he is referring here to William Temple Franklin. See also JQA's comment about the younger Franklin in his entry for 26 Feb. (above).

27TH.

In the afternoon I went into Paris with the Ladies; left them before the Jardin des Tuileries. Walk'd to the Hotel de Bretagne; West was out. Walk'd some time in the Palais Royal; and met Mr. Ruston, and soon after Mr. West. His arm is much better but still swollen.

28TH.

Mr. West came out to Auteuil and dined with us. After dinner I went into Paris, with him: we went to meet Dr. Ruston and then proceeded all together to the Italian Comedy, where we saw *Theodore*,¹ a new Opera Comique, acted for the first time, with *l'heureuse Erreur*, this evening. *Theodore*, had not a brilliant success, but a tolerable one. The Subject, is as old, as the Theatre I believe. A Man who proposes marrying his daughter to one of his friends of his own age, instead of which she marries the young man she loves, is the whole plot. Nothing new is introduced, but there are some pretty good sallies, and some excellent Sentiments (which by, the by, the french don't consider as ornaments to a dramatic performance, especially in the Comic Pieces). The Music, is I am told the first performance of Mr. Davaux, in this way: its success was pretty much like that of the Words: there was however one arriette which began thus.

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Le Coeur d'une fillette
Est assez souvent
Comme une girouette
Que tourne au moindre vent.

That was encored, and another,

La tendresse
Ne Vaut pas la sagesse
Mais encore, elle a son prix,

was very highly applauded. After the play was over I went and met my father at Mr. Jefferson's. Coll. Humphreys, was this morning suddenly taken very ill. He has been twice bled this day, and is at present much better than he was, although he has yet a fever upon him.

¹ *Théodore, ou, le bonheur inattendu*, an unpublished musical comedy by Benoît Joseph Marsollier des Vivetières, with music by Jean Baptiste Davaux. It was first performed at Fontainebleau on 4 March (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

29TH.

We expected to have had a large Company to dine with us; but Mr. Hailes brought the excuses of the Duke of Dorset; who was this morning sent for at Versailles; and could not therefore come. M: de Gouvion, has also excused himself, and Coll. Humphreys's illness prevented him from coming, so that we were reduced to eleven only. Marquis de la Fayette and Lady: Count Sarsfield, M: de la Bourdonnais, Mr. Hailes, Mr. Williams and Mr. Jarvis. The Marquis brought us a number of American News Papers, as he receives them very regularly. Mr. A.s appointment to England, is in one of the New York Gazettes of march 3d. Coll. William Smith,¹ of New York, who has been heretofore Aid de Camp to Genl. Washington, is appointed Secretary to the Legation.

Memorandum: Count Sarsfield made me promise him, I would write him a Letter in french the 29th. of next October.²

¹ William Stephens Smith (1755–1816), designated as WSS by the Adams Papers, was appointed by the congress without the prior knowledge of JA, who initially had some doubts about his suitability. WSS, who had received a certificate of commendation from Washington for his military

service, was a member of the Society of Cincinnati, a distinction that both AA and JA thought incompatible with republicanism; but they were mollified by his high sense of honor and modesty of demeanor and soon came to like him. AA2, having rejected her suitor Royall Tyler, became en-

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gaged in due course to WSS, and they were married on 11 June 1786. The marriage was not a happy one. None of the variety of offices which WSS subsequently held turned out well for him; his ambition, extravagant habits, and unwise investments led to desperate straits, and AA2 had to

endure periods of drunkenness and desertion (JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:183–184 and sources cited there; AA to Mercy Otis Warren, 10 May 1785; JA to CA, 31 Jan. 1795; and M/LCA/6, p. 147, all in Adams Papers).

² If written, not found.

30TH.

I went into Paris in the morning, and called upon Mr. d'Asp the secretary of the Sweedish Embassy, and we went together, to the Abbé Grenet's, a professor of the College of St. Jean de Beauvais, who has invented a curious sort of Sphere, with brass circles round it, by which he shows the motion of the Sun, and moon, and by means of which he has made some, astronomical observations, unknown before. He has also published an Atlas, which is extremely usefull in Schools, and for all persons that Study the Classic authors, he has made double maps, of all those parts of the world that were known in Antiquity: one side represents the Country as the ancients knew it, and the other shows the same, in its present State. He is at present employ'd in making detailed maps of the kingdom of France, which will also, be a very interesting work. I took a Copy of his Atlas.¹ Went to see a painter in the Louvre. Walk'd in the Tuileries with Mr. d'Asp. Went to Mr. West's and to Mr. Ruston's lodgings but neither was at home. Late before I got out to Auteuil.

¹ *Atlas portatif à l'usage des collèges, pour servir à l'intelligence des auteurs classiques*, [Paris, 1779–1782?]. JQA's copy is at MHi.

SUNDAY MAY 1ST. 1785.

Mr. Jarvis came out and dined with us at Auteuil. In the afternoon, Mr. Jefferson came out; he drank tea with us. No Rain yet: the drought is very great: the verdure is but small, tho' the trees are covered with Leaves.

2D.

Mr. A and myself went and dined with the Marquis de la Fayette, Comte and Chevalier de la Luzerne, Comte de la Touche, General du Portail:¹ A Letter was brought after dinner to my father from Dr. Franklin,² informing him that Mr. Randall³ [arrived] from New York in the last Packet, and that he has

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Letters from Mr. Jay for my father.⁴ We went immediately to the Hôtel d'Orléans Rue St. Anne, and found Mr. Randall out, but he had left the Packets for my father, to be given to him, in case he should call for them. They contained two Vols. of the Journals of Congress, A Commission, Credentials, and Instructions for the Court of St. James's.⁵ We went to Mr. Jefferson's, and spent an hour there; he has received a Commission for this Court, and the resignation of Dr. Franklin is accepted.⁶ Congress have resolved to send a Minister to Holland, and one to Spain, but as yet, none is appointed.

We went to see the Abbés de Chalût and Arnoux, and found them in affliction for the Death of their friend the Abbé de Mably. Abbé Chalût has written the following epitaph for him.

D. O. M.
Hic jacet
Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, Delphinus
Juris naturae
Indagator audax, felix, indefessus:
Dignitatis humani generis labefactatae vindex
Rectae rationis assecla tenacissimus
Ad Respublicas instituendas, restituendas, stabiliendas
Ad Populos sanandos, politiarum errores profligandos
Quae indesinenter scripsit
Orbis utriusque suffragio, plausu comprobata.
Assiduâ historiarum meditatione
E variis gentium institutis, moribus, regiminibus
Praeteritorum eventuum causas latentes detexit,
futuros praenuntiavit.
Strictae semper addicta veritati
Mens flecti nescia
Honores, divitias, omnimoda servitii vincula
In re tenui
Constanter aspernata est.
Vita Innocuë elapsâ, avitae religionis cultor sapiens
Sacris vitibus accuratè servatis
Æquissimo animo
Obiit, 23d. die Aprilis 1785, ineunte aetatis anno 770.
H. M.
Amici moerentes P. C.⁷

The abbé was a character, that would be uncommon at any

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time, but almost unknown at present in this Kingdom. Every thing that he has left, as I am told will not amount to two hundred louis d'ors. The two abbés his friends are his executors, and he begs of them to accept his library which is composed of about 250 volumes. Of all the Literati in Paris, he owned the least books: but he used to borrow those he wanted; from the bibliothèque du Roi, and made extracts from them: his works are less known than they ought to be, because he was neither an Academician nor a Courtier: But he always maintained the Reputation of a good Man, which is preferable, to any that either Courts or Academies can give. Return'd home at about 10. in the evening.

¹ Louis Le Bègue de Presle Duportail, French military engineer in American service who later became French minister and secretary of state for war (Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 1:272–277).

² That of 2 May (Adams Papers).

³ Paul Randolph Randall, a New York lawyer, who later participated in the unsuccessful negotiations with Algiers and other Barbary powers (John Jay to JA, 8 March (bis), Adams Papers; Jefferson, *Papers*, 8:544, 610–611; 10:649–651).

⁴ Jay to JA, 8 March (bis), 15 March, 18 March (Adams Papers).

⁵ Jay's letter of 18 March included JA's instructions, dated 7 March; JA's commission, dated 24 Feb., is also among the Adams Papers.

⁶ The congress elected Jefferson on 10 March 1785, and Franklin notified Vergennes on 3 May that the congress had permitted him to return (JCC, 28:134; Franklin, *Writings*, ed. Smyth, 9:321).

⁷ To God the Best and Greatest. Here

lies Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, of Dauphiné. A bold enquirer, successful, unwearied, of the Law of Nature: Defender of the damaged integrity of the human race, most tenacious servant of right reason in establishing states, restoring them, stabilizing them, in leading peoples, and casting down the errors of political treatises. What he unceasingly wrote has been approved by the vote and applause of both worlds. By assiduous meditation on history, from the varied institutions of peoples, their customs, their governments, he uncovered the hidden causes of past events, and foretold the future ones. Ever devoted to strict truth, his mind, uninfluenced by his humble estate, constantly spurned honors, wealth, and all sorts of bonds of slavery. After having spent his life doing no harm to anybody, and wisely fostering his ancestral religion, he died with the most tranquil mind on the 23rd day of April 1785, as the seventy-seventh year of his life was beginning. This monument his grieving friends have erected.

3D.

Mr. A: went to Versailles, it being Ambassador's Day. As he was passing through an entry at the Count de Vergennes's, a Servant presented him a small canister, containing perhaps a little more than half a pound of tea, and ask'd him if he did not want some very excellent tea, that had come through Russia, by land from China; my father could not Refuse it, and enquired the price. *Un Louis*, Monsieur, said the fellow very coolly; and in that manner he put every one of the foreign Ministers to contri-

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bution, even in the House, of the King of France's prime Minister. I don't know whether such practices correspond, with their ideas of dignity; if so they are very different from mine.

4TH.

In the afternoon I went into Paris alone: went to the Griffon, Rue de Bussy and bought some Stationary. To the Hôtel de Nassau Rue de la Harpe, to see Mm. la Comtesse d'Ouradou, but she was not within. Bought me a Couple of Trunks. Went to Mr. Jefferson's: he tells me, that the Count, thinks of not going in the next Packet. I fear Mr. Williamos, after failing me, himself, has been endeavouring to persuade the Count to do so too, which I do not think is very polite. Mr. Jefferson, spoke concerning Virginia, a State, which he knows very particularly as it is his native Country. The blacks, he tells me, are very well treated there; and increase in population, more in proportion, than the whites. Before the War, he says the negroes, were to the whites, in the proportion of 3 to 4. Now they are as 10 to 11. which is a very material difference. He supposes about 500,000 souls in the State. He disapproves very much the Cultivation of Tobacco, and wishes, it may be laid entirely aside. He thinks wheat would be much more advantageous, and profitable, much less Laborious, and less hurtful to the ground: he is a man of great Judgment.

5TH.

All dined at Mr. Jefferson's, with Marquis and Marquise de la Fayette, Count and Countess d'Ouradou, Chevalier de la Fayette another french gentleman, Mr. Short, who this morning arrived from St. Germain, Mr. Bowdoin from Virginia, Mr. Jarvis, &c. I there learnt that Mr. West and Dr. Ruston, were not gone for England: after dinner I went with Mr. Jarvis, to the Hôtel d'Orleans, Rue St. Anne, to see Mr. Randall, who dined at Dr. Franklin's to day. I went to West's lodgings, but he was out. Saw Dr. Ruston, who does not go, till next week. Mr. Jarvis, brought me out as far as the *Barriere de la Conference*,¹ where I luckily found our Carriage which was just passing by.

The weather has been exceeding fine, for a long time, but the drought is very great. All the Roads, are very inconveniently dusty, and daily Church processions are made to obtain Rain

May 1785

from Heaven. Grain, and Hay are extravagantly dear so that numbers of farmers, have been obliged to kill their Cattle, that they might not Starve to Death. Butter is 2 livres a pound, whereas, in the depth of winter, it is not commonly higher than 30 Sols, and in short if the present weather continues, I know not what will be the consequence the ensuing Fall and Winter.

¹ The Barrière de la Conférence, one of twenty-four principal barriers ringing Paris at the time, was a customs post where goods were taxed and traffic was examined for contraband (Robert de Hessel, *Dictionnaire universel de la France* . . ., 6 vols., Paris, 1771, 5:110).

6TH.

After dinner the Ladies went into Paris: I left them at the Place de Louis 15. and went to Mr. West's lodgings: he had been out to Auteuil in the morning with Mr. Bowdoin, and had promised to meet me in the afternoon at his lodgings, but did not. I walk'd from 5. o'clock till 9 in the Palais Royal. Met M: de Gouvion there, and walk'd with him, about an hour and an half. He was much averse to the Packets, coming round from L'Orient to Le Havre, which has at length been determined upon; but they have been so slow and dilatory about it, that the time for the May Packet to go round has been lost, and I shall still be obliged to go down to L'Orient. M: de Gouvion says it will lengthen the Passage very considerably, and increase the danger. That besides, the greatest part of the Passengers in those Packets come from Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Nantes, and don't come to Paris. All those, says he, will rather go home in Merchant Vessels, than, go so far as Le Hâvre. But Mr. de Gouvion, does not consider that great numbers of Americans, that cross the Atlantic from England, in merchants vessels, or the English packet, will in future, prefer to either the french Packet, as it will be so near, and much less expensive: I reminded him of this, and he agreed it was true.

Met Messrs. Jefferson, Short and Williamos: the Ladies made me wait so long, that I had well nigh taken a *fiacre*, to return home. Ten o'clock before we got to Auteuil.

7TH.

Went into Paris early in the morning. Called at the *Hôtel d'Orleans, Rue St. Anne*. Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Warburton, were going

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for England at Noon. *Hotel d'Orleans, Palais Royal*: Dr. Ruston found West there, and accompanied him, to the Diligence, Rue Montmartre; at 12 o'clock they all went off. I walk'd with Mr. Jarvis in the Palais Royal, and afterwards went and dined with him, at the *hotel d'Orleans, Rue des Petits Augustins*. After dinner I called upon Mr. Randall, at the Hotel de l'Union, Rue St. Thomas du Louvre, and bought of him, the Carriage, in which he came from L'Orient. Gave him 20 louis d'or's for it. Called upon the abbés and Mr. Grand, but did not find them.

8TH.

Mr. Randall, Mr. Short, Mr. Jarvis, Dr. Ruston, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Bowdoin, dined with us.

The drowth continues, and there is as yet no appearance of Rain.

9TH.

Walk'd into Paris in the morning, to the Marquis de la Fayette's; to go with him to Mr. Jefferson's upon the subject, of the Importation of our whale oil, into this Country.¹ I was told the Marquis was gone out of Town, on horseback. Call'd upon Mr. Williams and from thence went to Mr. Jefferson's, where I waited till past noon for the Marquis, but, as he did not come then, I walk'd back again to Auteuil: was very much fatigued as it was exceeding warm. All the family, but myself dined at the Marquis's, and did not return till late in the evening.

¹ Lafayette had lent his diplomatic and political skills to help gain for Boston and New England merchants engaged in the whale oil trade an important French market after they had lost their largest customer, Great Britain, as a result of the war. He negotiated an arrangement with M. Tourtille Sangrain, who had a contract to light the streets of Paris, to buy about a

thousand tons of oil from American merchants. Returning to America, JQA carried with him Sangrain's proposals, copies of government passports, samples of oil, and letters from Lafayette to Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford and Samuel Breck of Boston (Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette*, 4:116-117, 165-167; Lafayette to JQA, 14 May, Adams Papers).

10TH.

Mr. A: went to Versailles, to take leave, of the Court. Mr. Carnes¹ came out. Was all day preparing for my departure, in the evening Mm. de la Fayette, with two of her Children, came out: and Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Randall.

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¹ Burrill Carnes, a merchant at Nantes, appointed American agent there in 1786 by Thomas Barclay (Jefferson, *Papers*, 9:303).

11TH.

This Day, the King made his grand review, on the Plaines de Sablons. Mr. A. and the Ladies dined at the Sweedish Ambassadors; I had so much to do, that I could not. Early in the morning I had a remise,¹ and went first to Dr. Franklin, to take his Commands and ask for a Passport;² which I could not get, because, M: de la Motte his secretary, was gone to the Review. Went to Mr. Jefferson's who was also gone; the whole road to Paris was strow'd with Carriages. I got an order for Horses at the Post Office. Went to Mr. Grand's and to the Abbés: but found nobody. Cross'd the river to the Marquis de la Fayette's and saw Madam; Called at the Hotel d'Orleans, R. des p: Augustins, at that du Roi George, Rue du Colombier for Mr. Chew and Mr. Chamberlaine, who brought me letters from my friend Murray in England,³ but every body was gone to the Review. Went to Froullé my Bookseller, and got a number of Books of the Brindley Edition.⁴ Paid him his account. Walk'd half an hour in the Palais Royal, and met Coll. Humphreys, Mr. Short, Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Williamos, and Mr. Randall; who were all to dine with Mr. Jefferson: we walk'd till four o'clock, and then went together, to the Cul de Sac Taitbout, where we found the Marquis de la Fayette, Mr. Norris and Mr. Carnes, who dined there also. After dinner I went with Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Randall, and walk'd half an hour in the Palais Royal. Return'd and took leave of Mr. Jefferson, and his family: on my way home I stopp'd at Dr. Franklin's, and saw his grandson, who is ill: he told me that the Dr. had some thoughts of going to Boston; and from thence to Philadelphia by water: as he cannot bear the motion of a land Carriage. He talks of going in July or August.

About an hour after I got home, the Count d'Oradour, came, and told me that two large trunks, could not go on my Cabriolet, and that it would be therefore impossible for him to go with me. I desired him to bring the matter to a certainty, and in case he could not come, to send me the Carriage as early in the morning as possible.

¹ A hired carriage.

² JQA's passport, signed by Franklin and dated 1 May, is in the Adams Papers.

³ William Vans Murray to JQA, 27, 28 April (Adams Papers). JQA met Murray shortly after the Marylander had become a

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student at the Middle Temple in the spring of 1784; they next saw each other in 1797 when Murray became JQA's successor as minister resident at The Hague (JQA to JA, 15 June 1784, Adams Papers; JQA, *Memoirs*, 1:189).

⁴ While JQA's library contains copies

of the works of Caesar, Tacitus, Juvenal, Persius Flaccus, Nepos, and Lucan in the Brindley edition, only the works of Sallust, London, 1744, and Phaedrus, London, 1750, in addition to those already cited in notes, show evidence that they were purchased at this time.

THURSDAY MAY 12TH. 1785.

At about 9 o'clock the Cabriolet arrived, and the postillion brought me a Letter from the Countess d'Oradour,¹ by which she informs me that the Count cannot go with me, as it is impossible to fix two large trunks upon the Carriage; so that I shall finally be obliged to go down to L'Orient alone, after having been led to expect the Company of three different persons. I suspect that Mr. W.² has used his influence, to perswade the Count to wait for the next Packet: though I know not what reason he has to wish the Count would go with him. One thing is certain, which is, that it would be far more advantageous for the Count to go in the May Packet.

Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Carnes came out and gave me Letters for America. Mr. Jefferson sent out his Letters with two bottles of oil, in two cases, which are to serve as samples for oil to be imported from America. The Marquis de la Fayette's servant arrived with his Letters³ only a quarter of an hour before my departure. I took leave of my Parents and my Sister, and got into my Carriage, at 1/2 after 12, with such feelings, as no one that has not been separated from Persons so dear, can conceive. My Postillions drove me very well, so that at 1/2 past 8 in the evening I was at Dreux, which is 9 1/2 posts or 57 Miles from Paris. The roads are very good on this route. On leaving Versailles, you enter into the Province of Normandy, which extends more than half the way to L'Orient. This Province produces no Wine, but a great deal of Cyder, and the best in France; it furnishes also very considerable Quantities of grain; the fields of grass look now as dry and as yellow as in the month of January, for want of Rain: those of grain are in a better condition but look very thin. Between Paris and this place you pass through Versailles, the royal residence: not far from thence is the famous *abbaye de Saint Cyr*, founded by Madame de Maintenon, in order to educate a number of young Ladies of noble family and small fortune. Verneuil is the most considerable town on the road.

May 1785

¹ Not found. The Count sailed on a later packet and was in Virginia during the fall and winter. Virginians noted his disappointment with the lands, which were more expensive than he had imagined, and with Americans, whom he had assumed all spoke French. Nevertheless, he made "a considerable tramontane purchase," before returning to France (Jeffer-

son, *Papers*, 8:147; 9:3, 93, 251; 10:616).

² Charles Willamos; see entry for 4 May (above).

³ See note for entry of 9 May (above), and *Lafayette: A Guide to the Letters, Documents, and Manuscripts in the United States*, ed. Louis Gottschalk and others, Ithaca, N.Y., 1975, p. 84.

MAY 13TH.

At four in the morning I left Dreux, and rode, till 9 in the evening without stopping at all: But was then so much fatigued as my Carriage goes very hard, and the roads being very dusty I determined to go no further than *Préz en Pail*, which is 16 posts from Dreux, the country is mountaneous, and the roads are not so good as might be wish'd. This place is in the Province of *Maine* which forms part of Normandy. The produce of this province, is for the most part in grain. The fields of grass look miserably. In the morning, I met an whole village, men, women and children, with the curate at their head, going out in procession to implore rain of the virgin Mary. I have got into a very indifferent house: they tell me, they can give me nothing to eat because it is Friday; and no good Catholic ever eats meat on fridays.

14TH.

At 5 in the morning I was in my Cabriolet, and never stopp'd anywhere untill I arrived at Rennes, which was at 11. at night. By coming through a cross road I shortened the Journey 3 posts; so that I came only 13 1/2 or 81. miles. The roads were so bad that I could not ride more speedily. I trembled whenever I saw a town before me: for they are all paved in such a manner, that it seems done on purpose to break every Carriage that passes through them: mine with the heat of the Sun, and these dreadful roads is split in several places. At 7 posts from Rennes I entered into the Province of Brittany: I expected to be visited very strictly; but was agreeably disappointed: a Custom house officer, came, and ask'd if I had anything in my baggage, contrary to the king's ordinances: on my answering no; he told my postilion to drive on, without any further searching: and what surprised me most was that he did not beg a half crown piece. At Rennes

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my postilion first drove me, to the sign of the sheep, (*au mouton*) which by all accounts is a very good house: but there was not one empty room in the house: he then brought me, to such a tavern, as has not I really believe its equal in France. When I went into the house a dirty, ill looking woman, led me up a rotten pair of stairs, into a room, where there were a few remnants of paper hangings, which had formerly decorated it, a table, which was as good as tables in France commonly are, a chair, in which I dare not sit at ease, lest it should fall to pieces, a bedstead, that is of a piece with the rest, and numberless cobwebs

Where half starv'd spiders, feed on half starv'd flies

compose the furniture of this apartment. I enquired whether there was any provisions in the house, and was answered, that I might have some bread and butter. I was glad to get any thing and ask'd for any thing they could find, but when they had made me wait an hour, they discovered that they had no butter in the house: I determined to go to bed but when I endeavoured to lock the door of my Chamber, I found it impracticable. I heartily wish'd myself out of the house, and went to bed, endeavouring to keep awake, as much as possible, notwithstanding, I was so much fatigued.

15TH.

Left the *Hotel d'Artois*, at about 5 in the morning, and was determined not to stop again before I arrived at L'Orient; for I had no Inclination to lodge in another house like those at Rennes and at Préz-en-Pail. At Josselin a small village, about half way between Rennes and L'Orient I saw a mountabank, curiously dress'd riding about in the Streets on horseback beating a drum, with a number of Peasants following him. He made a stop, in a square, and began to harangue the assembly. I was in my Carriage at the Post office, and while they were changing horses I was near enough to hear the speech of the Quack. He had the honour to inform the gentlemen and Ladies that he was the greatest man in the world at slight hand, that he had exhibited before, the kings of France, Spain and Holland, to their astonishment and admiration. He continued a considerable time in the same style, and concluded by saying, that he should this evening give the first representation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and as it was merely out of regard for them, and from no motive of inter-

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est that he meant to exhibit,¹ his first places should be only 2 sous each. I could not help laughing heartily to see the fellow go on in that manner while all the peasants round him stood in admiration of his talents

Grands yeux ouverts, bouche béante.

At about 6 o'clock I arrived at Lo[c]miné; which is 6 1/2 posts from L'Orient. They gave me a Postillion who was so drunk that he could hardly keep on his horse. Before he got out of the town he run one of the wheels, against the corner of an house, with so much violence, that I expected the wheel was broke: but luckily it was not. I was in continual fear of being overset and having my Carriage, if not my bones broke. I got however safe to the End of my Post: owing more to my good fortune than any thing else: for the roads were very bad. I rode all night and at 4 o'clock Monday morning arrived at L'Orient. I went to the *Epée Royale*, and to the *Hotel d'Artois*, but there was no Chamber vacant in either. The Postillion then brought me to the *Hotel de la Marine*, which is not a good house, but is a Palace in comparison with those I stopp'd at on the way. The roads between Rennes and this Place, are very hilly and rough, but are not I think, so bad as those, between Alençon and Rennes. The Country looks very poor; and the fields seem to produce nothing: but the Country people look neater and gayer than in any other part of France, and I saw less beggars than I have commonly met with. What it is owing to I cannot say; but this Province boasts of enjoying peculiar privileges, and of having a greater portion of liberty than any other. The Bretons say that their Parliament is the firmest and most respectable in the kingdom: how far this is true I know not, but it is certain, that the Parliament of Rennes have distinguished themselves, upon several occasions, when the others did not show the same courage.

The Expenses of a single person from Paris to L'Orient, in a Cabriolet, the carriage that is commonly made use of in France, for travelling, are as follows.

	liv:
Hire of a Cabriolet	120.
60 posts. 2 horses at 30 sols per post, each	180.
the 3d. horse, about 12 posts	18.
Postillions 1 livre per Post	60
Lodging on the road, and the 2 posts Royal	32
Total.	410.

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If two persons travel together they take only three horses, and the expences being thus divided, will not amount to more than 300 livres each. The first thing a traveller should purchase, when he arrives in France, is a Post Book. They are published every six months and contain every information relative to travelling Post, necessary. They are to be found at every bookseller's shop.

¹ Punctuation supplied.

16TH.

I went to bed immediately on my arrival; rose at about 10 in the morning, sent a man to find out Mr. Barclay. He return'd and told me he was *vis-à-vis la maison de Ville*. I went and found him very unwell: he had meant to leave L'Orient four or five days ago; but has been very ill with an humour in his head; but he is now much better, and thinks to set off next Thursday. I found Mr. Champion¹ there, who went with me to Mr. Rucker's lodgings. I found him, and Mr. Grub² a Gentleman from Carolina. They accompanied me to the man who sold my Cabriolet, to Mr. Randall; he was much more reasonable, than I expected he would be, for notwithstanding all the damage, which the heat of the Sun, and the badness of the roads have done to the Carriage, he gave me 25 louis d'ors for it: and took it just as it was. His name is *Soret*. I think I can recommend him to any person who might want to hire or to buy a carriage at L'Orient. Dined with Mr. Barclay. After dinner, I went with Mr. Champion, to Mr. Mazois the director of the Packets, and paid him 500 livres for a passage, on board the *Courier de l'Amerique*, Captain *Fournier*. I was much astonished to hear that the Packet will sail tomorrow if the wind remains as it is. It is very extraordinary that Mr. le Couteulx himself, the director of the Packets at Paris, should not know when the Packets sail: he tells every passenger who goes to him, that they are obliged to wait for the Post that arrives from Paris Wednesday morning.³ A Gentleman who will pass with us, depending upon this, arrived 6 hours too late for the last Packet, and has been obliged to wait an whole month at L'Orient. I saw the Captain who gave me a respite; he will not go till to morrow evening, but I depend only upon a change of wind, for all the Letters which I expect by the next Post. It is very disagreeable to be thus disappointed by the unpardonable negligence, of those very persons, on whom, we depend the most.

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I bought My bedding, viz: a matrass, a pair of sheets: so large that one will be sufficient at a time, a pillar, and two pillar Cases. I brought with me from Paris a Coverlid, and half a dozen napkins, all these articles a person must necessarily have: on board the Packet you are furnished with every thing else, as I am told.

Spent the evening and Supp'd at Mr. Barclay's; with Mrs. Moylan, Miss Fermier her Sister, and Mr. Nesbitt.⁴ Return'd to my Hotel at about 12. at night.†.⁵

¹ Probably Henry Champion, a merchant at Lorient (Jefferson, *Papers*, 8:448; 10:87; 11:112, 173, 582–583).

² James Grubb, a Virginia merchant at Lorient. Thirty years later JQA employed Grubb as his private secretary in London. "He was then [in the 1780s] flourishing in Youth and Prosperity," JQA wrote to his mother, "but has since been unfortunate, and now with a wife and six children, even the employment that I give him is a relief to him" (*Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 2:450; 3:97; JQA to AA, 24 Aug. 1815, Adams Papers).

³ 18 May, two days hence.

⁴ Jonathan Nesbitt, a merchant banker

at Lorient since 1775, and brother of John Maxwell Nesbitt, the Philadelphia Revolutionary leader and merchant (*The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784*, ed. E. James Ferguson and John Catanzariti, Pittsburgh, 1973–, 3:298, 520; Blanche Taggart Hartman, *A Genealogy of the Nesbit, Ross, Porter, Taggart Families of Pennsylvania*, Pittsburgh, 1929, p. 7, 8).

⁵ JQA's cross mark probably refers, as others have, to letters he wrote which were gleaned from his Diary entries. In this case it is undoubtedly his letter to AA2, 11–17 May [1785], Adams Papers, in which he describes his journey from Dreux to Lorient.

17TH.

Immediately after breakfast I went to Mr. Barclay's. The wind has changed, so that we shall not sail this day. This gives me pleasure, as I expect a number of Letters, by the Post that arrives to morrow morning: I went with Captain Fournier to the Hôtel of Mr. Thevenard the Commandant, but he was not at home. Saw him upon the place of Parade. Dined with Mr. Grub and Mr. Champion at Mr. Barclay's. After dinner my Captain came, and took me in his barge, on board the Packet. Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Willamos were kind enough to write a fortnight ago to the Captain, informing him of my design to go with him: so that the round house has been kept for me. It is by far the best apartment in the Packet, except those of the Captain and officers. The Rooms below the deck are very inconvenient, so small that two persons cannot easily fit together in one of them. They have no windows in them, which makes them so dark that it is impossible to read without a candle and must render the air extremely unwholesome. But the roundhouse has a large window and two

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small ones that open and being upon the deck it is not subject to the bad air that reigns continually below. Remained on board a couple of hours. Returned and spent the evening with Mr. Barclay. Mm: Cardan, and her two Daughters supped there. Return'd home, at 11. o'clock.

18TH.

In the morning I went to the Post office, and enquired if there were any Letters for me; there were none. I immediately went to Monsr. Mazois, to whom I supposed my Letters would be addressed, but he had none for me neither. I don't know how it happens. I can only suppose that they were put in the Post Office, so late that they failed, coming by the Saturday Post; and even if that is the Case, I shall lose them, unless we are retained here by contrary winds, till friday, which I cannot expect. Early in the morning I went on board the Packet, with my trunks. One of them was carried down into the magazine: the other, I had placed in my Room.

Mr. Mazois invited me to sup with him this evening. Dined with Mr. Barclay. Mr. Grub was there. I went with him to see Mr. McCarty.¹ At about 7. in the evening I felt much fatigued and unwell. Took leave of Mr. Barclay, who leaves this place tomorrow for Paris. Return'd home, and went immediately to bed.

¹ Probably William McCarty, an American merchant at Lorient engaged in the importation of whale oil and tobacco (Jefferson, *Papers*, 9:330-331, 537-538; 10:195).

19TH.

At about 6 o'clock, the Captain of the Packet, and Mr. *Salvius*, a Sweedish Gentleman, who intends to go with us, called upon me, to go on board and put all our things in order, so as to be ready at an hours warning. We first went and took with us a Dutch Gentleman named Mölich who was to sail in the last Packet, but having been misinform'd by Monsr. le Couteulx, arrived here 6 hours too late, and has been waiting here ever since. We went all together on board, in the Captain's barge. I placed all my linen, and whatever I supposed would be necessary for the voyage, in the draws, in my apartment: we dined on board at twelve o'clock, and immediately after dinner return'd on shore. I went with Mr. Mölich to the *Chambre de Literature*. This is a considerable Library supported by subscription. Every subscriber

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has a right to introduce, a friend, and a stranger being once introduced may go whenever he pleases. Remained there till 4 o'clock. Mr. Mölich then return'd to my lodgings with me. Was dress'd, and then went with him to the Comedy, where we saw *le Sorcier*, with *les femmes vengées*.¹ The actors are very indifferent, though we were told that they play'd the second piece uncommonly well. Supped with Mr. Mölich at the *Epée Royale*. Returned home at about 11. o'clock. I called in the afternoon at Mr. Barclay's house. He set off for Paris this morning at 7 o'clock.

¹ *Le sorcier*, Paris, 1764, by Antoine Alexandre Henri Poinsinet, with music by François André Danican, called Philidor; *Les femmes vengées, ou, les feintes infidélités*, Paris, 1775, by Michel Jean Sedaine, with music by Philidor (Brenner, *Bibliographical List*).

20TH.

I went down into the Port at about 10 o'clock in the morning. Met Mr. Grub who told me, that Mr. Thevenard, had a packet of Letters for me. I immediately went to his Hôtel, and he gave me the packet: it was from the Marquis de la Fayette and inclosed a number of Letters for America,¹ with a sheet of the Leyden gazette² which says that 20,000 Imperial troops have taken possession of Bavaria, in the name of the Emperor, and that the elector has left his Capital with his guards, and all his Court, with the intention to go to the low Countries. If this is true, the exchange, between the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria, so much talk'd of, and so positively denied by the parties, has really taken place; the Marquis writes, that although the news is by no means certain; he thought the sooner it is known in America, the better. As I was returning home I met Mr. Mölich in the street, and told him the news, which was peculiarly interesting to him, as it is to his Country. We went to the Caffé de la Comedie, and afterwards took a walk out of the town. Went to the Chambre de Literature; remained there till 2 o'clock. Mr. Mölich then went with me, and dined at my lodgings. Just as we had done dinner Captain Fournier came in, and delivered a packet, he received this morning from Mr. Williamos.³ It contained all the Letters that I expected from Paris:⁴ they must have been put into the Post office at Paris too late to come by the Saturday post.

Went in the afternoon, and spent a couple of hours with Mr. Rucker. Return'd home, and wrote all the evening to my Sister. The Wind changed this afternoon, and is now quite fair for us to go out.

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¹ 14 May (Adams Papers), which contained documents and the account from the *Leyden Gazette*, discussed below, but no mention of "letters for America," and possibly, though not likely, his letter of 18 May (Adams Papers). Probably the latter never reached JQA before he sailed on 21 May.

² Not found. The *Gazette* was reporting rumors. Although Emperor Joseph II had schemed to round off his Austrian dominions and acquire Bavaria in exchange for the troublesome Austrian Netherlands and the title of King of Burgundy, no war or invasion of Bavaria to effect the exchange took place (*The Cambridge Modern History*, A. W. Ward and others, 13 vols., Cambridge, England, 1902-1911, repr.

1969, 6:646-647; Paul P. Bernard, *Joseph II and Bavaria*, The Hague, 1965).

³ Dated 14 May (Adams Papers), which included a letter of introduction to Col. Burr, presumably Thaddeus Burr, to whom JQA delivered a letter on 17 Aug.

⁴ According to JQA's letter to his sister started on the 17th and completed on the 20th (Adams Papers), referred to later in the entry, these letters included: one from AA2 (not found); David Humphreys ([ca. May 1785], Adams Papers, enclosing four letters of introduction for JQA, none identified, though perhaps one to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull); and "Letters from Miss Nancy, and from her Parents" (not found).

SATURDAY MAY 21ST. 1785.

At 6 o'clock in the morning a person came from the Captain, to inform me that the wind was fair, and that I must be on board at 9 o'clock. I went to Mr. Mölich's lodgings. Called at Mr. Barclay's house and breakfasted with Mr. Champion. Bought four pieces of Nankin at 6. lis: 10 sols: the piece. Saw Mr. Lanchon¹ a merchant of Reputation of this Town. He took charge of my Letter for my Sister. At 9 o'clock Mr. Champion came on board the Packet with us. Immediately they began to weigh our anchors, but before we could get clear of the harbour, the winds changed, so that we were obliged to anchor, before Port Louis. At about 11. o'clock, an American Ship came into the harbour: and as I supposed, it might bring some news, that I might be glad to know, I ask'd leave to go on board. Mr. Cuyler, a young American who came in this Packet last March, Mr. Mölich and myself, went on board, but found it was a vessel from Baltimore, that had been 50 days out.

We returned on board our Packet, and dined. After dinner I went on shore at Port Louis, with our Captain. We walk'd about the place, till near 6 o'clock, when the Captain perceived that the wind had come round again. We immediately return'd on board, weigh'd our anchors and set sail. At 11. o'clock we had got clear of the island of Groix and were at Sea. I felt very disagreeably, and went immediately to bed: but I could not sleep; on account of the noise that was made all night, on the deck.²

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¹ Of Lanchon Frères & Cie., a commercial house at Lorient and Le Havre (Jefferson, *Papers*, 11:546).

² After the following day's entry, JQA wrote irregularly in his Diary throughout the voyage.

22D.

When we rose in the morning, we were out of sight, of Land. We have nothing now but the ocean and the sky around us. The weather being very fine none of us was very sick: but almost all the passengers felt such qualms as prevented them from eating any thing all day: myself among the rest.

25TH.

We have had fine weather on board ever since we left L'Orient, but have not in general been able to enjoy it on account of sea sickness. We begin now to stand a little firmer upon our legs. The Events that happen on board a Vessel are very seldom interesting, and the life we lead is very lazy and tiresome. Our Company on board is very gay and sociable, but is not in general such as I should have wished.

Captain le Fournier is an excellent Seaman; he is 37 years old and has pass'd more than half that time at Sea; no one could wish to be with a better Captain. He is only 1st. Lieutenant, but commands the packet, because the Chevalier d'Abouville, is now in America, building another packet, which he is to command. Captain Fournier expected to receive a Commission as lieutenant of a Frigate, but such is the delay that the Ministers cause before they grant the least favour, that he did not receive it: it will probably come to him by the next Packet: he will then have the command of this Vessel. I heartily wish he may succeed: for he is not only a good Seaman but an excellent man. If such men had the command in the french Navy, they would not be so often exposed to lose their fleets as they are, but in France, few persons of merit can make their way in the military profession; without credit at Court. A Man must have an education as a fine gentleman, must be a Courtier and an intriguer to obtain any rank. The exceptions to this rule are few. They would be numerous if the Event was consulted. Monsr. *de la Motte Piquet*, one of the best officers in the French Navy had nothing but his merit to recommend him, and certainly among their noble Seamen they

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can find none that behaved better in the course of the last war. Very few did their duty so well.

27TH.

Still the same scene fine weather, little wind. At about noon, we spoke to an English brig, Coming from Cadiz, and bound to *Ordiné*, a small town, in the british Channel.

Mr. Le Bel our first Lieutenant is a man of about 35 years; who is also an excellent Seaman. I believe he has pass'd a great part of his Life at Sea. His Character is much that of a mariner who has lost by the life he has lead all the tender feelings that form in my opinion the charms of Life. He has all the exteriors of Complaisance but he is a perfect egoist, so far as to declare in Conversation that he cares not what happens to the whole Universe, when he is once dead. His principles are always such as his Interest requires, and he makes no mystery to declare it publicly. He was a prisoner in England during the war, and was in America, with the french fleet; he was married there, to an American. It does not give me pleasure to see my Countrywomen form such connections: but as he will never settle in America, the harm is not so great. I shall endeavour to keep upon good terms with all the officers, and passengers during the voyage, but this is not certainly the person whose company I shall regret [losing?] after our arrival at New York.

31ST.

High Wind, directly contrary. The Vessel roll'd so much that most of the passengers were sick. We saw yesterday a great number of Porpoises, which according to the opinion of Seamen in general, is always a certain sign of much wind. We have made very little progress as yet.

Mr. Halley our second Lieutenant is a young man, under 20. He has pass'd a great part of his time at Sea, and is much of a gentleman. The Character I have found this person to possess is for me, a lesson which has been often repeated to me, never to judge any one from his first appearance; had my opinion been ask'd concerning our officers, I should have supposed *Mr. Halley*, had a hard Character, and was very inflammable, whereas he is the most agreeable of the 3 officers on board; he has been in this packet ever since the Institution: consequently, this is his fourth

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Voyage to New-York. He tells me we shall in all probability have a passage of at least 50 days. This packet has never had a shorter one from L'Orient to New York. The Captain has determined to go down for the trade Winds.

WEDNESDAY JUNE 1ST. 1785.

Small wind. The Season for Calm weather is coming forward, and I am afraid we shall have a long passage; in the afternoon we saw a ship and pass'd within a mile from her but the weather being dark and foggy we could not see her distinctly. Towards night the wind freshened.

4TH.

Our Wind has been very low for several days. 15 or 20 leagues a day is the utmost extent of our route.

Mr. Well de Singler is a youth 18 years old, consequently he cannot be a good Seaman; this is only his second voyage. His first was to India. His manners are by no means agreeable. He has some reading, and was two or three years in a College at Paris. He is full of his knowledge, and does not doubt but he is the most learned man on board though the youngest. He commonly engroces the conversation wherever he is, and maintains his opinion in the most positive manner, upon any subject whatever. His principles are to fight with every body, and upon the most trivial occasions; he even gives to understand, that if opportunities fail, he takes care to create them. He pretends to be of noble birth and affects to despise every body who is not noble. In short I think it an unlucky circumstance that I am obliged to remain with him during 50 days. I cannot conceive how the lives of 50 or 60 persons can be sported with so far as to place a boy commanding officer on board a kings ship, but so it is, and every thing in France depends upon protection at Court. I don't wonder their marine has never been able to resist the English Navy. Very luckily for us, there is another officer on board who keeps the watch with *Mr. Singler*; so that I am not anxious as I should be if a person who knows very little more than I, of the Sea was in bad weather alone to command on deck.

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8TH.

Continual calms, and contrary winds. We are now at about 38 degrees of Latitude, and are not far from the western Islands. Consequently we have not yet run 400 leagues. We saw in the forenoon a brigg and in the afternoon, she pass'd about 2 leagues from us, and hoisted an English flag. It is a common custom when 2 vessels meet at Sea, they hoist the flag of their respective nations: in peace I mean; for in war it is different.

Mr. *Le Breton* of about 32 years, has been a Seaman at least 20. During the late war he commanded a privateer from Dunkirk and another from Zierikze'e. He was sometime prisoner in England. He is on board this Packet as a subaltern officer, but pays the Captain, to live at his table. The reason of this is, that Mr. *Le Breton* has a vessel building for him to command, when he *has his campaigns*. The Undertakers in France, will never insure a merchant vessel unless her Captain, has serv'd as officer in the kings service, at least two campaigns of three months each, and this is called *to have their campaigns*, and is what Mr. *Le Breton* is performing. He is one of the most agreeable persons on board. He sings very prettily, and entertains us highly almost every evening with his songs. He always keeps the watch with Mr. *de Singler*, which relieves me from a vast deal of anxiety.

11TH.

This day being Captain *Fournier's*, *jour de fête*, he gave us an excellent entertainment on board: and when his health was drank at the desert, 5 guns were fir'd in his Honour. As there was a more considerable space of time between the fourth and fifth than between the others Mr. *Le Bel* was very much irritated: fearing that the fifth would not be fired; a salute in an even number is English, and of course the odd number, is French. But an even number on board a french vessel, and an odd one on board an Englishman, are equally look'd upon as an insult. I had in the evening a disagreeable dispute with Mr. *Singler*, who is some times really insupportable. Calm weather still all day.

14TH.

Last Evening the wind freshened considerably, and we have now a very fine breeze. It began to be necessary, for the continual

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calm, that has reign'd, almost all the time, since we left L'Orient have lengthened our Voyage very much. I have now no hopes of being less than 50 days at Sea. I fear more. By coming for the trade winds, the passage may be much longer than to go northward of the western islands, but, it is commonly much surer. By the other way a vessel in this Season, may be 3 or 4 months at Sea, which very seldom happens when they take this route.

15TH.

Still a fine wind. Yesterday, we ran 50 leagues, and in all probability we shall not do less to day. By yesterday I mean the Solar day from noon to noon, the manner in which all nations compute time, at Sea. At about noon we saw a sail at a considerable distance, but we did not remain long in sight of one another. In the evening our wind fell a little.

Mr. *Bouchant* the surgeon of the Packet is about 30 years old. The surgeons on board all the vessels belonging to the King of France are called *chirurgiens majors* and in conversation they are address'd *monsieur le major*, so that I have been obliged to day to ask his name: he appears to be a very good man, and to be well versed in his profession. He affects no pedantry, and is an excellent Companion, as well as a good surgeon. These are the officers on board the Packet, who keep the Captains Company, and live at his table. On board their frigates and men of war the officers are in greater number and there is commonly a chaplain in addition to the rest at the Captain's table. On board the English ships, the Captain has his own table, and the officers a seperate one. There is in the English Navy, a much greater distance between the Captain and the officers, than in the French. I don't know which custom is preferable but in case of an action, in war, you hear much oftener the french officers complain of their orders being disobey'd, than among the English. I don't know but it is owing to this manner of affecting a great distance between the rank of their officers. The old maxim *familiarity creates contempt* is certainly a very good one, and is almost always true.

18TH.

Our wind is still good but is almost all gone, and we have not run more than 20 or 25 leagues, within the last 48 hours. This forenoon we saw something at Sea, but we could not distinguish

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what. Some said it was a very large piece of wood. Others, were of opinion, that it was a boat overset. It pass'd at a small distance, and amused us for half an hour. At Sea, such is the continual sameness of the surrounding objects that the smallest trifle becomes interesting, and is sufficient to excite our curiosity and occupy our attention.

20TH.

Continual calms. Our passage will I fear be a very long one. We have fine weather, but we would willingly agree to have less Sun, and more wind. The weather begins to be very hot and we are in the Latitude of 26d. 30m. But the Sea air makes the warmth more supportable. This evening, as we were near the tropic one of the officers, according to the custom universally established, of wetting all the persons on board who have not cross'd the tropic, sprinkled us with a little water: one of the passengers, who is fond of such amusements; as the french in general are; returned the officer's Compliment, with an whole bucket of water. This was as a signal to us all; we immediately form'd two parties, and we were all, officers and passengers, wet from head to foot before we ended. I believe more than 200 buckets of water were spilt upon the deck in the course of the evening. One of the passengers alone receiv'd thirty buckets. Such a diversion is not very instructive nor very agreeable, but may be pass'd over for once: I hope it will not be repeated.

24TH.

We have been for several days in the trade winds: But have had calm weather till yesterday morning, since when we have had a breeze, which makes us run 40 leagues in 24 hours. This is St. John's day, a great holiday, wherever the Roman Catholic Religion is dominant. *O! grand Saint Jean c'était alors ta fête!*

Mr. Mölich, is a young merchant of Amsterdam, 23 years old. Since the Peace he has in society with one of his Countrymen, set up a commercial house in Charlestown,¹ under the firm of Schmidt & Mölich. He is now going to join his partner, and proposes going by Land from New York to Charlestown. I believe his journey, will not be a very agreeable one. He has travelled almost all over Europe, and has been twice to the West Indies. He has by this means acquired a considerable knowledge of the

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world, and a genteel appearance. His manners are pleasing, and he possesses a virtue which is met with oftener in Holland than in France; that of sincerity: He is serious as the Dutch in general are: and is subject to absence of mind very often, in so much, that we tell him he is deeply in love; and I really believe he is. A good quality but which leads him now and then into error is a fondness for his Country, which cannot bear that any one should speak slightly of it. He is the person on board with whom I am the most intimate, and whose Sentiments agree the most with my own.

¹ That is, Charleston, S.C. The firm is listed in Jacob Milligan's *The Charleston Directory*, Charleston, [1790].

28TH.

Fine Wind, and good weather. We have for several days run between 40 and 50 leagues every day. In the evening we spoke to an american brig from New London, bound to Santa Cruce¹ loaded with horses. Her Longitude, was 55 from the meridian of London. Ours was 56d. 30m. from that of Paris, so that the difference was very small. We saw another vessel to day, and a sail yesterday, but at a considerable distance.

Mr. Fontfreyde,² is a frenchman by birth, but he has pass'd several years in America; and he is settled at Albany. He was formerly an officer in the french army. All things considered I believe this gentleman is the most accomplished person on board. His manners are very soft and agreeable. He has received a very good education, and to the Complaisance natural to all the French Nation, his knowledge, of the world has united a Candour, which is not so often to be found among them. 36 years have tempered the vivacity of his youth, and though a person of the strictest honour he has a character of the most pacific kind. In short if all the officers and passengers on board were like this gentleman, the passage would have appeared, much shorter, and much more agreeable to me.

¹ Probably Saint Croix, also known as Santa Cruz, the largest of the Virgin Islands.

² Probably John (Jean Baptiste?) Fontfreyde, a merchant who purchased a freedom from the corporation of Albany in

1781, that is, his right to the privileges of the town (Joel Munsell, *The Annals of Albany*, 10 vols., Albany, N.Y., 1850-1859, 10:153; Lasseray, *Les français sous les treize étoiles*, 1:218).

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30TH.

The weather is very good, but the winds begin to be very variable as we approach to the term of the trade winds: by our observation we are now about an hundred leagues from the Bermudas. We have had calm weather all day, extremely warm, so that no body could bear a coat. These seas are subject to very frequent squalls, and thunder storms, which are sometimes dangerous: we must expect to meet with three or four: but the mariners have been so often taught by cruel experience to be prudent that they now always begin to lessen their Sail before the Storm gets to them, and they are in general prepared for it when it comes.

*Mr. Huron Du Rocher*¹ is a merchant from Nantes, about 34 years old. He has form'd a commercial house in Philadelphia since the war, but has suffered as so many other persons have. He is now going over to America, in order to settle his affairs there. He proposes to remain there, about an year. He has received a liberal education, and has a great deal of wit, with a character a little inclined to Satyrical observations. His reflections, under the mask of gaiety are biting and severe; and have the more effect because it is impossible to take them ill. He does not however make a bad use of the Talent he is endow'd with: which when kept within proper bounds is useful and agreeable: but which becomes: very hurtful and dangerous if the person who has it cannot restrain it on many occasions. Mr. Huron does not intend to remain any time at New-York; but to set out for Philadelphia, the day we shall go on shore.

¹ This may be Lawrence Huron (see following entry), listed as a Philadelphia merchant in 1785. In addition to interests in Philadelphia, Lawrence was involved with his brother, Jean Baptiste, in land-

holdings in several Kentucky counties (*Macpherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia...*, Philadelphia, 1785; *Cal. Franklin Papers*, A.P.S., 4:358; *Jefferson, Papers*, 9:49-50).

FRIDAY JULY 1ST. 1785.

Calm weather all day. In the evening it began to lighten, and our thunder spire was fix'd; this is a small chain, fastened at the mast head; the other end of which hangs in the water, but as it is made, I believe in case of a thunder storm, it must be rather hurtful than of service. For the chain is so small, that I cannot think it would conduct much lightening; besides which it touches to a great number of ropes, and to the hull of the ship

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itself; which I believe, must infallibly take fire in case, the lightning should fall on this spire. The evening was extremely warm and the passengers, all except Mr. Huron and myself, went early to their chambers. We remained on deck till 3 o'clock in the morning. At about one, the air was very heavy, the weather was as calm as possible. The darkness of the night, was heightened, by a number of black threatening Clouds, that surrounded us, and by the flashes of lightening, which were very frequent, and sharp. I was observing to Mr. Huron what a profound calm reign'd in the atmosphere, when a gust of wind sufficient to blow a hat from ones head, came as if on purpose to give me the lye. Immediately Mr. Halley who had the watch ordered all the sails except the four largest, to be lowered: the wind from North west changed in an instant to West, and for half an hour were not five minutes at the same point. The squall pass'd at a small distance from us and we felt but little of it. At 2 o'clock, the weather was as calm as it had been all the evening. These squalls and thunderstorms, which are very frequent in these Seas; are what mariners dread very much. Such a leap in the wind when the vessel has all sail out, and a storm of this kind falls suddenly upon it may often dismast it: so that a great deal of precaution is necessary, in order to be prepared for the reception of these gusts. Very few Vessels pass near the Bermudas, without meeting with more or less of this kind of weather.

4TH.

Calm weather continually: and so warm that it is almost insupportable. We still esteem ourselves 50 leagues East of the Bermudas. I wish'd very much to arrive in America before this day, which is the greatest day in the year, for every true American. The anniversary of our Independance. May heaven preserve it: and may the world still see

A State where liberty shall still survive
In these late times, this evening of mankind
When Athens, Rome and Carthage are no more
The world almost in slavish sloth dissolv'd.¹

¹ JQA's quotation is from "Britannia," lines 195–199, by James Thomson, a particular favorite of AA, who committed some of his work to memory. In Thomson's poem, the first line given above actually

reads: "A state, alone, where Liberty should live" (*The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*, ed. J. Logie Robertson, London, 1908, p. 477; *Adams Family Correspondence*, 1:391).

Diary of John Quincy Adams

7TH.

At length we have reason to hope that an end is put to the calms with which we have been almost incessantly tormented, and which has kept us already, nearly fifty days at Sea: with 200 leagues still before us. This morning we had a small breeze that carried us about 3 knots an hour but it lasted only a short time and fell again into the same insipid state of nullity it had been in for a week past. At 11 o'clock another breeze came, which continued longer, and carried us more than 4 knots. The air was however still very heavy, and the atmosphere seemed crowded with thunder clouds. At about 6 in the evening it began to lighten and before 8 o'clock the rain pour'd down like a torrent. 5 or 6 storms from different parts of horizon pass'd over our heads, and burst one after the other. One clap of thunder was very heavy, and fell at a small distance from the ship. I cannot imagine a more striking situation than that of a vessel at Sea, at midnight, with no moon, having five or six such storms around her. At about 10 o'clock the air which had been all the evening intolerably warm, grew suddenly very fresh, but the storms continued almost all night, and at two o'clock in the morning it rain'd almost as hard as ever. I then went to bed.

9TH.

The air was so effectually cleared by the breaking up of the storms which occupied the atmosphere, that we have had since yesterday morning, a fine breeze, which has sometimes made the ship run 8 knots an hour. In the last 24 hours we have shortened our voyage 53 leagues. Yesterday morning we saw a sloop, which pass'd about 1/2 a league starboard of us. She had no topmast. I wish'd the Captain to bear down, and speak to her, in order to be more certain where we are: but there is among mariners an unbecoming vanity, which induces them, to think, they must trust to their own point alone, and that it is dishonourable to be obliged to consult any other person. Such trivial passions seem to be in possession of the heart of man; every profession has some such false point of honour, which is productive of much harm, and of no good, but such is the force of prejudice, that few persons have force sufficient to surmount it. We suppose ourselves now about 150 leagues from New York. Such weather would carry us there in a very short time. I wish it may continue as it is.

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Mr. *Salvius* is a Sweedish merchant about 24 years old: I have spoken of all the other passengers on board before him, because his character is the most extraordinary of all. The moon has certainly a considerable influence on his mind. Upon the whole he has I believe a good heart: but he will quarrel with a person without any reason at all. His passion immediately vents itself, in terms, which one would be obliged to resent, if they were made use of by any other person, but which are not to be taken notice of coming from him: an hour afterwards, he will come and ask your pardon for what he has said, and yet, will begin again with as little reason as before. His head is full of plans and projects, which have not a shadow of comonon Sense; yet he has had a good education and often talks upon different subjects very sensibly and with much knowledge. Politeness and cleanliness seem excluded from his System of life; and one of our witty passengers wrote these four lines which form a curious epigram.

Salvius ce nom me parait admirable
A qui le porte il ne convient pas mal
Car en le voyant soit au lit soit à Table
Chacun s'ecrie, ah! bon dieu qu'il est Sal,! vius &c.

He sail'd about 15 months ago from Hamborough for Philadelphia and pass'd in this Packet, last February: he remained from that time till we sail'd; at L'Orient, and he owns himself that he had nothing to do there. He now returns to America, and it would not be extraordinary, if he should sail with this Packet again for France, in August. He is so mysterious and mistrusting, that he tells nobody who or what he is: and never lets a word slip that may hint what are his intentions of any kind. He is not an agreeable companion, and I would not be obliged to live with him, upon any account.

II TH.

A fresh breeze, and good wind, at about 11 o'clock, we spy'd a sail, and at $3/4$ after 12 we spoke to her. Found her to be an English Schooner from New York, bound to Jamaica. She left New York five days ago, and they suppose her at 69d. 40m. Longitude meridian of London which is two degrees, thirty minutes, west from Paris. Our Captain supposes us, at 72d. 55m. from Paris: which makes 45 minutes, or 16 leagues difference. $1/4$ of an hour

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after we spoke to her we saw another sail, which was a large ship. She pass'd about a league windward of us. At about 3 o'clock we made a third, and as the wind blew very fresh in an hour's time she was as far behind us as she was when we first perceiv'd her. It was a large brig, and seem'd going directly opposite to our course. At about 6 o'clock, the wind blew hard, and for a quarter of an hour we ran at least at the rate of 10 knots. In the evening: it lightened so sharp and so frequently that the horizon appeared all in a flame. At midnight, it blew a storm, notwithstanding which we sounded but found no bottom.

14TH.

Yesterday at about 8 o'clock in the morning, we spied a sail, at our windward; her course was nearly the same with ours. We sailed swifter than she, and gained ground so fast that at 6 in the evening she was not more than a league distant from us, to the leeward. The night coming on, made us lose sight of her. In the evening we had about the ship at least a dozen of small birds of the size of a swallow, which the french call *Alcides*;¹ I don't know the English name. They are black all, except in the hind part of the back, which is white: they made a very disagreeable, and a very clamorous noise. The mariners, who find presages and omens, in almost every object they see, pretend, that they never appear except before, or after bad weather. I must however own that in this case their prognostics happen to be true. This morning at day light, we found the sloop within gun shot of us at leeward, and at about 7 o'clock we made two other sail at windward. At 2 o'clock afternoon the sloop came, and spoke to us. She was from Charlestown bound to New port, and supposes herself 45 leagues from land. From the number of persons we saw on deck, we supposed it was the Packet. Our weather has been very variable for these four or five days. We have run one day with another from 20 to 25 leagues. We have sounded at midnight these three last nights but without success.

¹ A ducklike sea bird; in this case, JQA appears to be describing a guillemot (Paul Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, 9 vols., Paris, 1951–1964).

15TH.

This morning with a fine breeze and good wind, we sounded and found bottom, at about 35 fathom of water: we were from

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thence convinced that the vessel we spoke to yesterday had deceived us with respect to our distance from land, or was very much mistaken, for so little water as 25 fathom is not to be found more than 15 or 20 leagues from the coast. We sail'd directly North, to get into our Latitude and at noon were at 39d. 45m. The wind had fallen, and became unfavourable, but it did not last so long. We found bottom at 18 fathom, in the afternoon; but at about 5 o'clock, a very threatening thunder storm arose; the Captain wishing to keep clear of the coast in case of a storm directed the ship towards the N. E. At about 7. o'clock, the gust came, upon us in a very sudden, and a very violent manner: the wind was exceeding high, and the rain pour'd down in showers. It did not last more than an hour, and then the wind abated considerably. At 5 o'clock we found 40 fathom of water, and at 7. 25.

16TH.

This morning at 7 1/2 o'clock the weather, which had been all night very cloudy, began to clear up and a sailor came from the top of the mast and told us he had made land in the N. N. W. As we had yesterday a false alarm, we did not at first believe it: some of our officers, went to the mast head, and ascertained the reality of the fact. The land which extended a considerable way, was the coast of the Jerseys, as far, as the heights of Neversunk [Neversink]. By noon we were within 5 leagues of land, and we fired several guns for a pilot to come, on board: at about 1: we had one, and we were in hopes of getting up to New York this evening, but by 3 o'clock, the breeze fell away, and the wind came round to the west: so that the tide being also against us, we could not proceed, and we anchored about a league from the light house on sandy hook. We remained there till 10 at night, when the tide became favourable to us: we then again set sail and with some difficulty got into North River. At about 12 o'clock at night we pass'd by the Martinique, the french packet; the Captain hail'd us, and inform'd ours that he intended to sail early in the morning for France: he sent his boat on board, and I had just time to write a Line to my mother,¹ to inform her of my arrival.

¹ That of 17 July (Adams Papers).

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SUNDAY JULY 17TH. 1785.

At four in the morning we came to anchor, and weigh'd it again at eight o'clock: we sailed up the North River, and pass'd by the ruins of the forts built by the British while they were in possession of New York. Upon Staten Island they are numerous. The Entrance of this river furnishes a number of very beautiful prospects; and the Situation of a number of country Seats upon Long Island is exceeding fine. At about noon we arrived directly before the City, and anchored near the shore. All the other passengers immediately went on shore. I waited to have my trunks cleared, and at about 2 went on shore at Long Island and dined with Monsr. de Marbois¹ the french Consul. He has from his house, (which stands on an elevation, and commands at once the City, the river, Staten and Governor's Islands, and the harbour) one of the finest prospects I ever saw. After dinner I went with the Captain, over to the City, and walk'd about with him. Took a lodging at Cape's tavern, which appears not to be a good one, but is said to be the most tolerable in town. We met Mr. Sears² at the Coffee house, and went with him, to his house: set half an hour with him, and then we again return'd on board, where I preferred passing the night (as my trunks were there,) rather than at Capes. Found Mr. Salvius and Mr. Fontfreyde, on board, for the same reason that I was there.

The french packets are certainly an excellent institution, but they are extremely expensive to the french government. The six packets do not cost the king less than 200,000 livres a year: for this reason it is said there are to be only four which will sail every two months. Every passenger pays five hundred livres for his passage, and it is customary to give about 2 louis d'ors among the Servants on board and the ships Crew. You live at the Captains table, and have a small apartment on board, to yourself. You must provide whatever refreshments you may be in need of: and must find your own sheets, and pillows and napkins. You are allow'd one matrass, and you may embark with you 2 trunks of four feet cube; if you have any thing more you pay freight. All the french packets are ships. The Courier de l'Amerique, has 96 feet of keel, and bears about 200 tuns. The others are nearly of the same size.

¹ François Marbois, later Comte and Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, a French diplomat long involved in American affairs, beginning in 1779 as secretary to the

French minister, the Chevalier de La Luzerne, then as chargé d'affaires a year later, and finally consul general in 1783. Marbois and the Chevalier de La Luzerne

had sailed to America with the Adamses on *La Sensible* in 1779 and learned English from JQA during the voyage. The Frenchmen were "in raptures with my Son," JA commented, who was, they insisted, the "Master of his own Language like a Professor." After the completion of the voyage, Marbois wrote to the elder Adams, encouraging him to take JQA back to France where the young man could obtain educational advantages unequaled in America (Howard C. Rice, "French Consular Agents

in the United States, 1778-1791," *The Franco-American Review*, 1:369 [Spring 1937]; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:385; Marbois to JA, 29 Sept. 1779, Adams Papers).

² Isaac Sears, the New York merchant who had emerged as a leader of the Sons of Liberty during the Stamp Act crisis and was one of the earliest in New York to call for a general congress of the colonies. Sears was serving in the state legislature and the chamber of commerce (DAB).

18TH.

At about 9 in the morning, I went on shore with my trunks, which were search'd, so that I almost thought myself in Europe again. I went to Cape's, and after I had put all in order, went immediately to Mr. Jay, N: 8. Broadway. I then went to his office, which is at the corner of Dock Street, and found him there. I deliver'd to him all the Letters I had for him, and remain'd with him half an hour. I then return'd and visited Mr. van Berkel the Dutch Minister. Dined with Mr. Jay and after dinner, went immediately, to see Mr. Gerry (N: 61. King Street). Spent some time with him, and then went with him and Mr. King,¹ and was introduced to the president of Congress,² to Mr. Hardy,³ and Mr. Monroe of the Virginia delegation and to several other gentlemen. I went to governor Clinton's,⁴ but he was not within. We walk'd round the rampart, and waited upon Mr. Gardoqui⁵ the spanish chargé des affaires. He was not at home. We met Mr. Ellery and Mr. Howell of the Rhode Island delegation,⁶ and Mr. McHenry⁷ of the Maryland. Spent part of the Evening with Mr. Osgood,⁸ and return'd to my lodging at about 9 o'clock.

¹ Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King were Massachusetts delegates to the congress, 1776-1781 and 1782-1785, and 1784-1787, respectively (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

² Richard Henry Lee, Virginia delegate 1774-1780, 1784-1787, and president from Nov. 1784 for one year (same; JCC, 27:649).

³ Samuel Hardy, Virginia member of the congress 1783-1785 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

⁴ George Clinton, governor of New York, 1777-1795 (same).

⁵ Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish chargé d'affaires, 1785-1789, the son of Joseph de Gardoqui of Bilbao, whom JA and

JQA visited in Jan. 1780 and whose firm, Gardoqui & Sons, was the chief conduit of military stores to America for the Spanish court during the Revolution (*Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, p. 445; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*, Baltimore, 1926, p. 71-73).

⁶ William Ellery and David Howell, delegates 1776-1781 and 1783-1785, and 1782-1785, respectively (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

⁷ James McHenry, member 1783-1786, and later secretary of war, 1796-1800 (same).

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⁸ Samuel Osgood, Massachusetts delegate, 1780–1784, had been elected commissioner of the United States Treasury by

the congress earlier in the year and lived in New York (same; Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:412–419).

19TH.

Breakfasted with Mr. Gerry and Mr. King. The President of Congress, who was there was so kind as to offer me, a room in his house. I delivered almost all the remainder of my Letters for this place. Saw Coll. Wadsworth,¹ and delivered to him a Copy of the proposals concerning whale oil, which I received from the Marquis de la Fayette. Dined with the President of Congress, in company with General Howe.² After dinner I carried to General Webb,³ a letter from Coll. Humphreys. Walk'd in the mall, and met Mr. Baldwin,⁴ a delegate from Georgia. Went to his house, sat half an hour, and return'd to my lodgings. Mr. Mölich came in soon after, and told me he intended leaving New York early to-morrow morning, upon business, and to return here on Saturday.

¹ Jeremiah Wadsworth, a Connecticut merchant, who had served as deputy and commissary general of the Continental Army, 1777–1779, and also as commissary for Rochambeau's forces until the end of the war (*DAB*).

² Robert Howe, commander of the Southern Department of the Continental Army, 1777–1778, was appointed by the congress the following month to work on boundary negotiations with the western

Indians (*DAB*; *JCC*, 29:620).

³ Samuel Blachley Webb of Connecticut, stepson and private secretary of Silas Deane and Continental officer during the Revolution (*Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, 3 vols., N.Y., 1893–1894, 3:254, 261, 386).

⁴ Abraham Baldwin, delegate, 1785–1788 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

20TH.

Mr. Mölich went away at about 6 o'clock. In the forenoon, I delivered the remaining Letters, I had still on my hands. Saw Mr. Searle, with whom I was formerly acquainted in Holland. Dined with Mr. Leroy. Mr. Chabanel his Cousin, is to sail for Europe, in the course of three weeks. Drank tea at Mr. Ramsay's and found a considerable company there. Mr. van Berkel, Mr. Gardoqui, and Mr. Randon, his secretary, who it is said is shortly to marry Miss Marshall. I received a Card¹ from the president offering me again an apartment in his House; I have endeavoured to excuse myself: but it is offered again with so much kindness and politeness that I do not think I can refuse it. I promised to

we fired several guns for a pilot to come on board as
about 1 we had one, and we were in hopes of getting
up to New York this evening but by 3 o'clock the breeze
fell away, and the wind came round to the west so that
the tide being also against us, we could not proceed and
we anchored about a league from the light house on Fan-
cy hook. we remained there till 10 at night, when
the tide became favourable to us, we then again set
sail and with some difficulty got into North River
at about 12 o'clock at night we passed by the Marti-
nique, the french packet, the Captain hail'd us & in-
form'd us that he intended to sail early in the mor-
ning for France: he sent his boat on board and I had
just time to write a line to my mother to inform her
of my arrival.

Sunday July 17. 1783. At four in the morning we came
to anchor and weigh'd it again at eight o'clock: we fasten'd up
the North River, and pass'd by the ruins of the fort built
by the British which they were in possession of New York
when taken & since they are numerous. the Entrance of this
River.

river furnishes a number of very beautiful prospects, and
the situation of a number of country seats upon long islands
is exceeding fine. At about noon we arrived directly
before the City and anchored near the shore all the other
passengers immediately went on shore. I wanted to have my
trunks deliver'd and at about 2 went on shore at long island
and dined with M^r de Charbon the french Consul he
has from his house (which stands on an elevation) com-
mands at once the City, the river station & Governor's
Island & the harbour one of the finest prospects I ever saw.
after dinner I went with the Captain, over to the City, & walk'd
about with him took a Looking at Capes town, which
appears not to be a good one, but is said to be the most tolera-
ble in town. We met M^r Charbon at the Coffee house and
went with him to his house. Just half an hour with him
and then we again return'd on board where I performed
passing the night as my trunks were ^{there} ~~on board~~ rather than
at Capes found M^r de Charbon. M^r Fort Stede, an English
P. same reason that I was there.

The french packets are certainly an excellent opportunity
to go.

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wait upon the president in the morning. Paid a visit to Mrs. Price.

¹ Not found.

21ST.

At 7 o'clock in the morning I left Cape's tavern, and went to carry one of my trunks, to Water Street N: 7. where Mr. Fontfreyde lives, as I intend to send the trunk by the first opportunity to Boston, and I preferr'd leaving it with a friend, to taking it with me. Dr. A. Lee,¹ arrived last night; and lodges with the president, his brother. I went and delivered a letter to Governor Clinton, who inform'd me, that the English packet came in last night. I immediately went with the governor's Nephew² to Mr. Jay, and inquired if there was any account from my father. He had just sent the Letters to Congress. The 1st. of June my father was presented to the King of England, and was pretty well receiv'd. I met Mr. Curson at the Coffee house. He saw my father the last day of May, but did not bring me any Letters. O! my dear Sister! do you already forget your promise? Dined with the delegates from Massachusetts.³ They live with a Mrs. Mercer. Miss Mercer, is a very fine young lady, and I believe a most amiable character. She appears very young, and though not a perfect beauty, the sweetness, that is to be seen in her countenance, is in my eyes preferable to it. I met Mr. Fontfreyde at 7 o'clock, and we went and bathed together in the river a little ways out of town. Went in the evening to see Mr. Salvius but found him not at home.

¹ Arthur Lee, Scottish- and English-trained physician and lawyer, commissioner to France in 1776 and Spain in 1777, and congressional delegate from Virginia, 1781-1784 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

² Probably Alexander Clinton, eldest son of James Clinton, the Revolutionary general; Alexander was his uncle's private secretary until his unexpected death two years later (E. Wilder Spaulding, *His Ex-*

cellency George Clinton: Critic of the Constitution, N.Y., 1938, p. 161).

³ In addition to Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King, the Massachusetts delegation included Samuel Holten and George Partridge, who had been elected a delegate but apparently was not present in New York at this time (*JCC*, 27:642; *Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

22D.

Waited upon Mr. Salvius in the morning. He is in a disagreeable situation here; his trunk having been seized by a custom-

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house officer. I applied to the delegates of Massachusetts, to know if any thing was to be done for him, and Mr. King was so kind as to go with me, to two other gentleman: but nobody, could assist him: I am really sorry for what has happened to him, and wish I could assist him; but in this Country the laws are superior to every thing, and I fear Mr. Salvius will lose his trunk. I walk'd an hour with Mr. Osgood, went home and was dress'd. Dined with Mr. van Berkel, where I met with Major L'Enfant,¹ who appears to be a sensible man. Drank tea, at Mr. Secretary Thomson's.² A number of ladies were present: one very handsome. Visited Mr. Sears in the Evening. Saw his Lady, he himself, was not at home. The weather has been uncommonly hot to day.

¹ Pierre Charles L'Enfant, French volunteer in the American army, had become since the war's end well-known in New York for his artistic and architectural designs. He later employed his talents in redesigning for the new federal congress what became Federal Hall in New York

city and was responsible for the plan of the federal city along the Potomac years later (*DAB*).

² Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress during its entire existence (same).

23D.

After breakfast I went to see Coll. Monroe, and Mr. Hardy, of the Virginia delegation. Call'd upon Mr. Fontfreyde. Lounged about untill near two o'clock, and then return'd again to N (189) where the gentlemen of the Virginia delegation lodge. Mr. Gerry, Mr. King, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Smith,¹ and myself, went all in the president's Carriage, to General Knox,² who lives about 2 miles out of town. There was a considerable company at dinner. Miss R. Sears, was remarkable among the Ladies, and was exceedingly pretty. She has lately been ill, and is a little pale, but had she sufficient colour, she would I think be a compleat beauty.

Mr. Hardy, advised me to spend sometime in Virginia, with Mr. Wythe,³ who has form'd a sort of a law academy, which, he as well as Mr. Jefferson, and the president think a most usefull institution. Mr. Hardy wishes that there may be much intercourse between the different States, in order to increase, our Union. And for that purpose he thinks that it would be very useful for the youths of one State, to be educated in another.

Went in the Evening to the Coffee house and at about 9 o'clock returned home.

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¹ Probably Melancthon Smith, New York delegate, 1785–1788 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

² Henry Knox had been appointed by the congress in March secretary at war, in which position he continued to serve until the formation of the government under

the federal constitution (DAB).

³ George Wythe, judge of Virginia's chancery court, was appointed in 1779, while Jefferson was governor, to the first chair of law in America, at William and Mary College (same).

24TH.

Went in the forenoon to St. Paul's church and heard Mr. Doughty preach a sermon upon a text in Corinthians, concerning the knowledge of ourselves. He spoke to the general satisfaction of the Congregation. I afterwards went with the Captain on board our packet, and dined there. Saw Mr. B. Jarvis¹ who invited me to go over next Sunday to Long Island. We went and engaged a Phaëton at Brooklyn, a small town on the island, opposite to N. York. Return'd to the City, and drank tea with Mr. Smith. Walk'd with Mr. Jarvis, on the batteries, till about 9 o'clock.

¹ Benjamin Jarvis was the brother of Charles Jarvis and Mary ("Polly") Jarvis Bowden, mentioned in later entries (entries for 31 July, 16 Aug., below).

25TH.

Waited upon Major L'Enfant in the morning; gave him a Letter for le Chevalier d'Antroches. The President dined at the french Consul's on Long Island. I went in the afternoon to see Mr. Salvius, and found the officers of the packet with him. Called upon Mr. Jay who was not at home.

26TH.

I stroll'd about the town almost all the forenoon; dined with Coll. Monroe, and Mr. Hardy, from Virginia. Mr. A. Lee left town in the afternoon. I walk'd with Mr. Gerry and Mr. King till 7 o'clock, when I went and called on Mr. Mölich who returned last evening from his trip into the Country. Sat with him till about 9.

27TH.

Breakfasted with Mr. Gerry in Company, with Mr. Söderström the Sweedish Consul at Boston who arrived here lately. Went with Mr. Mölich and visited Mr. van Berkel, and

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Mr. Le Roi; Dined at Mr. Ramsay's in Company with Mr. Gar-
doqui, Mr. Randon, General Howe, General Knox, Miss Susan
Livingston for whom I had a Letter, and several other persons.
Miss L. appears to me to be a great talker, but says very little.
Somewhat superficial, if I am not mistaken; which must always
be pardoned in a Lady. Miss Marshall, is much more pleasing to
me. Perhaps I judge wrong. Major L'Enfant is a true frenchman.
I don't know what to make of Don Francisco.

It was between five and six o'clock, when we sat down to din-
ner, and it was near nine, before I came away.

28TH.

Dr. Crosby¹ came and paid me a visit in the morning. I went to
see Mr. Jay, and staid about an hour with him. Dined at Cape's
tavern with the Captain and officers of the Packet. The stage for
New Haven leaves this place every Monday, and thursday; it
goes from Cape's: I wish much to get away by next monday but
fear I shall not be able to. Saw Major L'Enfant, and Mr. van Ber-
kel in the Evening.

¹ Ebenezer Crosby was the son of Jo-
seph Crosby, a Braintree justice of the
peace. From 1785 until his death, Crosby
was professor of midwifery at Columbia
(Joshua Chamberlain, *Universities and*

*Their Sons: History, Influence and Charac-
teristics of American Universities with Bio-
graphical Sketches and Portraits of Alumni
and Recipients of Honorary Degrees . . .*, 5
vols., Boston, 1898-1900, 4:332).

29TH.

Dined with the president and Mr. Harrison, Mr. Osgood was
so kind as to give me a Letter for Mr. Clarke at Providence, to
whom I can send my trunk. Drank tea at Mrs. Sears's. Harrison
appears to be much attached to Miss Becca. Went on board the
Packet in the evening, and spent a couple of hours there. She is
to sail the 15th. instant the british Packet will sail the 4th.

30TH.

Called upon the Massachusetts delegates in the morning, and
afterwards upon those of Virginia. Dined with a large Company,
at the president's. He entertains three times a week, and has
commonly about 25 persons at his table; all men. I was intro-
duced to Captain Kortright who it is said has two fine Sisters. I
went and spent the evening with Mr. Mölich who leaves this
place to morrow for Philadelphia.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

31ST.

At about 10 in the morning I cross'd the river with Mr. B. Jarvis and found his brother Charles at Brooklyn. We went from thence to Jamaica which is 12 miles from the ferry. It is a beautiful island though the soil is very sandy. After dining at the Tavern we went to Church, where we saw Mr. Harrison, Miss S. Sears. Mr. and Mrs. Smith and Mr. and Mrs. Bordieu. After Church we went to a Mr. Ogden's, where, Miss Jarvis lives: she is very fair but Miss Ogden is a beauty. I went with Messrs. Jarvis to see the Mother¹ and Sisters of Coll. Smith who is now in London, Secretary to the Legation. There are five or six young Ladies in the family, one only of which is handsome. Her name is Sally.² Mrs. Smith has had Letters from her Son dated as late as the 30th. of May.

We return'd from thence to Mr. Ogden's, and remain'd there about half an hour. Mr. C. Jarvis and I then return'd in the shay to the ferry. His brother remain'd all night at Jamaica. It was past nine in the evening when we got to the ferry, and it was then so late, that none of the ferrymen would carry us over. We lodg'd at a tavern in Brooklyn.

¹ Margaret Stephens Smith (1739–1812), wife of John Smith (d. ca. Feb. 1785), a New York merchant (Marcus D. Raymond, "Colonel William Stephens Smith," *N.Y. Geneal. and Biog. Rec.*, 25:153

[Oct. 1894]; NYHS, *Colls.*, 1904, p. 100–101).

² Sarah Smith (1769–1828), married CA in 1795.

MONDAY AUGUST 1ST. 1785.

Return'd to the City at 7 in the morning. Breakfasted with Mr. Jarvis in William Street. Mr. Harrison did not return before noon. Dined with Mr. Constable, but found him at dinner when I went there. Drank tea there too, in Company with a number of ugly Ladies. I went in the evening to see Mr. Gerry but found him not at home. Walk'd on the batteries about an hour, and then return'd to the President's.

2D.

Remain'd at home all the morning, writing Letters¹ for Europe, as the british Packet is to sail the day after tomorrow. Dined with Doctor Crosby, and spent the evening with Mr. Searle. Return'd at about 9 o'clock.

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¹ JQA to AA2, 1–8 Aug. (Adams Papers), is the only extant letter written (in part) on this date.

3D.

Was all the morning writing for the Packet.¹ Dined with the Delegates from Virginia. Coll. Monroe, was a little indisposed: he and Mr. Hardy, intend in a short time to take a tour to Boston. In the afternoon I carried my Letters to Mr. Church, who sails in the packet tomorrow morning. I then went and visited Mr. Gerry and Mr. King. There, was a number of persons at Mrs. Mercer's. Two Miss Bostwick's and Miss Alsop.² Miss Mercer shew me, some lines intended as a Satire upon the young Ladies in the City, but the *receipt for a wife*,³ has neither wit, pleasantry, nor truth, in short it is not worth speaking of. Yet it has turn'd me poetaster. I am trying to see if I can say something not so bad in the same way. And although I see I have no talent at-all at versifying, yet like all fathers, I have a partiality for my own offspring however ugly they may be.

¹ Probably JQA to JA, 3 Aug. (Adams Papers).

² Undoubtedly Mary Alsop, daughter of New York merchant and Continental Congress delegate John Alsop; she married Rufus King the following year (*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King: Comprising His Letters, Private and Official,*

His Public Documents, and His Speeches, ed. Charles R. King, 6 vols., 1894–1900, 1:130–131; JQA to AA2, 1–8 Aug., Adams Papers).

³ Parts of this poem are quoted in JQA's letter to AA2, 1–8 Aug. (Adams Papers).

4TH.

The british Packet sailed at about 10, in the morning. The weather was rainy, so I did not go out till almost noon. I then went with Mr. Harrison, and was by him introduced to Mrs. Swift and Miss Riché, from Philadelphia. Dined at Mr. Osgood in a pretty large Company. Young Mr. van Berkel said his Sister had arrived, somewhat sooner than he expected she would. The minister is gone to Philadelphia, to meet her, and she is expected here to-morrow or the next day. I made a very foolish mistake at dinner. At about 6 1/2 in the evening, I went to drink tea with Mrs. Sears. There was a numerous Company. Miss Riché sung and Miss Eccles play'd on the harpsicord: the first sings with much grace, though she has not a clear nor a strong voice; and what I admire her for, is that she sings without requiring to be

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urged as some Ladies do: for I prefer hearing a person sing ill if it is requested, than to hear a good song extorted from any one. "One fond kiss before we part" is a favourite song with Miss R. and she sung one of her own Composition, the words of which appeared very pretty. Miss Eccles, plays the best on the harpsichord, of any Lady in Town: I don't know of ever having heard any person who consider'd music only as a diversion, perform better. She has certainly acquired great perfection in the art.

5TH.

I went and spent some time with Mr. Fontfreyde, in the forenoon. Dined with a large Company at the President's. It was his musical day, for once a week, he has Company, some of whom sing after dinner. Mr. Young, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Sayre,¹ Mr. Read² and General Howe, all sung. The first is the best singer, but I was wishing to be gone, for a long time after dinner. It was however between 7 and 8 o'clock before we could get away. We then went, and drank tea, with Miss Eccles, who again play'd admirably well upon the harpsichord. Miss Riché sung again the two songs, she favoured us with last evening: she sung so prettily that when I return'd home, instead of continuing my Satirical lines,³ I immediately began upon the most insipid stile of panegyric: but a few days will cure me.

¹ Possibly Stephen Sayre, a New York merchant and banker, who was a diplomatic agent in Europe during the Revolution (*DAB*).

² Possibly Jacob Read, a delegate to the congress from South Carolina, 1783-1786 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

³ Not found.

6TH.

Visited young Mr. Chaumont in the morning, who arrived a few days since from Philadelphia. I went with him to introduce him to the delegates from Massachusetts but they were gone upon Long Island, and are not expected back untill Monday. Dined at the president's in Company with Coll. Cropper from Virginia. In the afternoon Mr. Harrison went to accompany the Ladies, an employment of which he and they are very fond. I went and spent part of the evening with the officers of the packet; went on board and supped with them; after supper Mr. Le Bel and Mr. Le Breton came as far as shore with us.

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7TH.

Went in the morning to Church: Mr. Harrison who is always with the Ladies squired them there

“E’en Churches are no Sanctuaries now.”

A gentleman preach’d from a text in the Psalms. He spoke well, but was so slow that the first part of a phrase was lost before he finish’d the last. After Church I paid a visit with Mr. D. Le Roi¹ and Captain Kortright, to Miss van Berkel, who arrived two days ago; she was not within, and to Miss Alsop, who is a little too much the Coquet, and injures her appearance by affectation. Dined with Mr. Le Roi. At 7. in the evening I went and drank tea with Miss Marshall: there was a considerable party there, and I was introduced to Miss van Berkel whom I had formerly seen in Holland. She cannot be called handsome but has that affability which is to me much more agreeable in a Lady than Beauty alone. She complains much of her misfortune in not speaking the Language, and is fearful that she appears awkward and ill bred, because she does not speak: and really, no person can, have an idea, how disagreeable it is to be in a Country, and not speak the Language; without having been himself in that predicament. Here it is worse than anywhere else, because there are fewer persons who speak any foreign Language: and the few Ladies, that can speak a little french, are so bashful, that there is no persuading them to talk. Miss Susan Livingston pleases me much better now than she did the first times I was in Company with her. We walk’d in the evening half an hour on the mall, in Broadway, after which I waited upon Miss van Berkel home.

¹ Daniel Le Roy, son of New York merchant Jacob Le Roy and younger brother of Herman Le Roy (Alexander Du Bin, ed., *Le Roy Family and Collateral Lines . . .*, Phila., 1941, p. 6).

8TH.

I went out with Mr. Harrison, Mrs. Swift, and Miss Riché, to Content to see Lady Wheate,¹ who is one of the most reputed beauties in the Town. I own I do not admire her so much as I expected to, before I saw her. She is like too many, of the handsome Ladies here, very affected. The most pleasing Characters here, are of those who are pretty without enjoying any share of beauty. When shall I see a beauty without any conceit? Dined at

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the Presidents with a large Company among others Genl. Greene, Governor Clinton, Mr. Osgood and Mr. W. Livingston.² In the evening I went and drank tea, at Miss S. Livingston's, where there was a large Company of Ladies. Miss Riché, sung again and repeated the former songs. Notwithstanding the admiration my friend Harrison has for her, I think upon closer examination, that she is not free from that affectation which some Ladies here seem to take for grace.

I endeavoured to excuse myself to Miss Livingston for not having waited on her before, but she said I should do better if I made no apology at all. Madam de Marbois too appeared very cold, and I fear I have offended many persons by not waiting on them, which I have not been able to do. Miss van Berkel was sociable.

¹ The eighteen-year-old widow of Sir Jacob Wheate, a sixty- or seventy-year-old British officer who left for the West Indies shortly after his marriage and there died. "Content" was the name of their country seat, located about three miles out of town

(JQA to AA2, 1-8 Aug., Adams Papers).

² Walter Livingston, a New York delegate to the congress in 1784 and 1785, who was appointed commissioner of the United States Treasury in 1785 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

9TH.

Dr. Witherspoon¹ visited the President in the morning. I went with Mr. Söderström out of town about a mile, to Mr. Bayard's, who has two fine Daughters, the eldest, to whom I was introduced last evening by Miss Livingston, was gone to Town; the other was there. I see with much pain that the connections of almost all the finest girls in and about N. York, were of the british party during the late war. It has been said that women have no Country at all; I hope, for the friendship I bear to them that this odious reproach is not true; I am sure it is not universally so. But their Sentiments must naturally depend upon those of their Connections: and I therefore think the Ladies here are excusable, for having sided with the British: their fathers, husbands, and brothers are not so.

Dined at the Presidents with Mr. Harrison, Mr. Heuston² and Mr. de Chaumont. The President himself dined out. After dinner I took a ride with Mr. Chaumont about 3 miles out of town. Drank tea with Mrs. Smith, with a considerable Company. I there saw the two Miss Thomson's³ who appear to me to have more celebrity than Beauty. Congress this day adjourned till

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next monday:⁴ as there are only 8 States on the floor; which is not sufficient to do business.

¹ John Witherspoon, Presbyterian minister, president of the College of New Jersey from 1768, and delegate to the congress from that state, 1776–1782 (DAB).

² Probably William Houstoun, delegate from Georgia, 1784–1787 (*Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

³ One was probably Ann, daughter of New York merchant James Thompson, who married Elbridge Gerry the following year (*Massachusetts Spy*, 26 Jan. 1786).

⁴ That is, 15 Aug.

10TH.

In the forenoon I went, and sat about an hour with Mr. King. Mr. Gerry was sitting at the grand Committee of Congress in the City Hall. I left 50 french louis d'ors, which Mr. Gerry wishes to have for bank Bills on Boston. Dined at the Presidents in a large Company, Mr. van Berkel, Mr. Jay, Mr. Paine,¹ Dr. Gordon,² Dr. Witherspoon, &c. After Dinner young Mr. van Berkel, and Major L'Enfant, went out to drink tea with the Miss Bayard's. Mr. Harrison went and introduced me to the two Miss Kortright's, who I find, are the Sisters of Mrs. Heiliger, whom I was well acquainted with in Copenhagen, and to whose Husband I was under many obligations, while I was there. These young Ladies are very agreeable, and the youngest (Eliza)³ is beautiful. I afterwards left Mr. Harrison, and pass'd the evening in Company with the officers of the Packet and Mr. Fontfreyde, who intends to leave town to-morrow at noon, for Albany where he is settled.

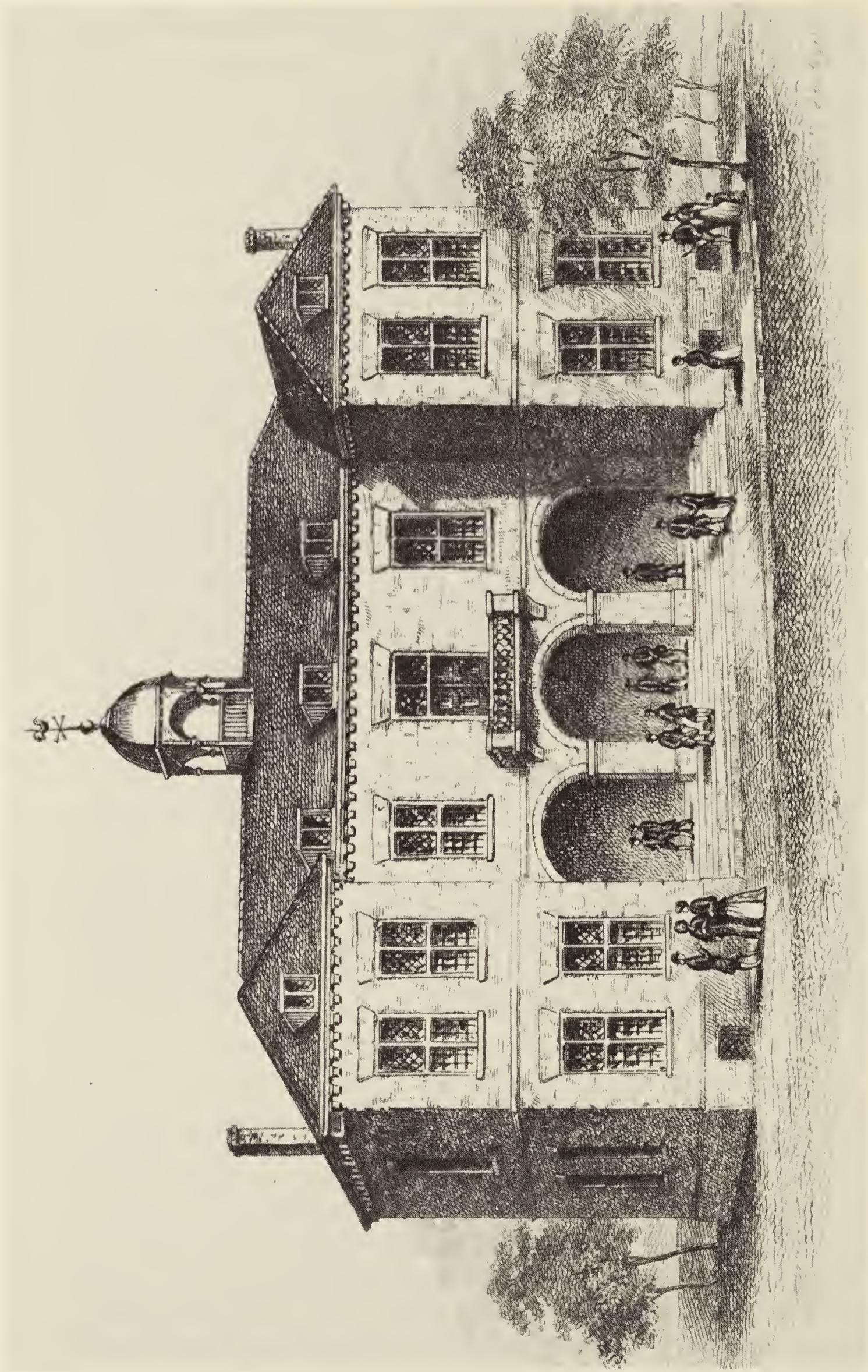
¹ Thomas Paine, who was living in Bordentown, N.J., and New York until his return to Europe in 1787 (DAB).

² William Gordon, historian of the Revolution, who had left England in 1770 out of sympathy for the American cause and returned there in 1786 (DAB).

³ Elizabeth Kortright, daughter of New York merchant Lawrence Kortright, married James Monroe in Feb. 1786 (Edward T. James and others, eds., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1971).

11TH.

Breakfasted on board the Packet, which is to sail for L'orient next monday; from thence I went a shore on Long Island, and paid a visit to Madam de Marbois, which I ought to have done before. People here are much more attached to ceremony and etiquette than I expected to find them. I found Mr. Chaumont there and we read part of *Phedre*¹ together. Mm. de Marbois speaks french very prettily: I return'd from the island with her husband. They were to dine at Genl. Knox's. Dined at Mr. Gerry's,



12. CITY HALL, NEW YORK, THE RESIDENCE OF CONGRESS FROM 1785 TO 1790
See pages xv-xvi

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and at five o'clock went with Mr. Chaumont and visited Genl. Knox; who was vastly polite: told me he would have sent me a Card had he not supposed I was gone to Boston, and said I should have come without ceremony, and dined. There was a great deal of company there. Baron Steuben,² a number of the delegates, and the president of Congress, the Dutch, Spanish, and French Ministers &c. Miss S. Livingston, is a wild girl. Mr. Chaumont went with Mr. de Marbois, and I return'd to town in his chaise; after which I went and spent the evening with several of our officers.

¹ Presumably Racine's *Phèdre* (1677).

² Baron von Steuben became a prominent and popular social figure in New York in the years after the Revolution (DAB).

12TH.

This morning Mr. Chaumont came, and proposed to me, to buy an horse, so that we might go to Boston together.¹ I have a great inclination, and have been advised by many friends to go from hence by land to Boston, in order to form some opinion of the Country, and make some acquaintances which may be of use to me hereafter. If I go by the stage, I shall see very little of the Country, as they go over it so fast and the carriages are very close: I am told too that they are *<very>* dangerous as the drivers ride very carelessly, and frequently upset: I suppose however that more is said of this than is really the fact: upon the whole I agreed to look out and see if I could find a proper horse, and if I could upon good terms, to buy one. I went to see a number but found only one that pleased me, and him I thought too fine and too costly a one for me. He belongs to the Dutch minister who demands 50£ for him. Upon the whole I believe I had best go by the Stage next monday. Paid a visit to Mr. Jay but he was not at home. Dined at the President's, with about a dozen persons: Mr. Harrison is very unwell. In the afternoon I saw Mr. Chaumont, who went over to Mr. de Marbois to pass the night there. I sent to Mr. van Berkel and offered him 40£ for the horse, but he would not accept it. Spent part of the evening at Dr. Crosby's. I was told that Dr. Gordon had called to know if I would go in the Packet on monday, to Providence.

¹ Terminal punctuation supplied.

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13TH.

This morning the President intended to take a sail down to Sandy-Hook, for the recovery of his Health, but found himself so unwell, that he could not go; the Virginia Delegates went, and Mr. Harrison went down also with his uncle, who came from England in the last British Packet, but finding his Estate here confiscated, sails for England this day. I went early in the morning to Mr. de Chaumont's lodgings; but he was not return'd from Long Island. Breakfasted with Mr. King, and return'd to the New York Hotel, where Mr. Chaumont return'd at about 10 o'clock. I then agreed to send and offer 45£ for Mr. van Berkel's horse, and if he would not take that, Mr. C agreed to go in the Packet to Providence with me. The minister accepted, and I immediately prepared every thing for our departure. I sent my large trunk on board the packet, and took a small one, with Cloaths and linen sufficient for the Journey. I was much surprised to meet Mr. Huron at the N. York Hôtel. He has just return'd from Philadelphia, and is going again to France in the Packet. I dined with them there, having previously taken my leave of the President, and thank'd him for all his civility and kindness to me, during my stay at New York; at about 4 o'clock we set out, Mr. Chaumont's two horses being tackled in his Chaise, one before the other, and his servant rode my horse: but whether through the stupidity of the rider, who is not used to riding, or any fault in the horse, I don't know, we had not rode two miles before the horse fell and threw the man; I was then fully sensible how imprudent I had been, in buying the horse, and determined to return to N. York, and desire Mr. van Berkel to take back his horse; which I suppose he will do, since the horse proves to be a bad one, though he sold him as a good one, and said himself he was no horse jockey. I sent as soon as I got back, but there was only his son at home, who said his father would not wish any person should lose by a bargain with him but added he himself was much surprised to hear that the horse had fallen, as they had never seen any fault in him though his father had own'd him two years. To'morrow I shall see what the father says. Mr. de Chaumont continued his journey, but will wait for me part of the day to'morrow.

14TH.

After several attempts to see Mr. van Berkel, he was at length found at home, and declined taking back the horse, though he de-

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clared he had never discovered any fault in him. The son said he was sorry his father persisted in refusing. At about 4 afternoon I again mounted the horse, and rode him ten miles as far as Mr. Hall's tavern, which is a very elegant one; and where I found Mr. de Chaumont: who has been waiting for me all day. He had concluded to change his plan, in case I did not return, and go directly to Albany, where his father owns an Estate; but he has now agreed to go on with me to Boston. My horse stumbles considerably, but I hope will not fall again nor throw his rider.

15TH.

Rose at about 6 o'clock in the morning; and tried my horse in the Chaise before one of Mr. Chaumont's: but we could not make him go at all, so we were obliged to go on as we first set out. Before we got to Kingsbridge, which was 6 miles from Mr. Hall's, we took a wrong road and proceeded more than two miles out of our way: this delay'd us so much that we did not get to East Chester, which is 21 miles from N. York till after 10 o'clock. We were obliged to stay there, till 3 o'clock it was so intensely hot: and we were then obliged to go so slow that we got no further than Rye, before dark: we were so unlucky as to mistake the roads twice. We put up for the night at Rye, which is near the boundaries of the State of N. York, and 32 miles from the City. This has been I think the hottest day I have felt since I arrived.

16TH.

We were going this morning by 5 o'clock, and proceeded as far as Stamford, 12 miles from Rye; 5 miles from which there is a small river,¹ which separates the States of N. York and Connecticut, at a place called Horseneck. The roads from Rye, are some of the worst I ever saw. The crops of hay and of grain are all very fine this year, except those of indian corn, which have not had hot weather enough. The State of N. York produces Wheat, rye, barley and all sorts of grain as all the Northern States do. Connecticut produces in addition large quantities of flax. We got to Stamford at about 9 o'clock, and found the heat so powerful, that

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we could not proceed any further before dinner. I had a letter from Coll. Humphreys, to Major Davenport² in Stamford, but he was gone to the Court which is now sitting at Fairfield. At 3 o'clock we again set off, and went till about 8 when we arrived at Norwalk 12 miles from Stamford. Mr. B. Jarvis gave me a letter for his brother in law, Mr. Bowden,³ the minister at Norwalk; but it was so late; when we got there that I did not carry it. Mr. Chaumont and I went and bath'd in the river, and found ourselves greatly refresh'd by it.

¹ The Byram River.

² John Davenport, known as a major from his service in the commissary department of the Continental Army, was a lawyer and representative from Stamford in the Connecticut legislature, 1776-1796 (Dexter, *Yale Graduates*, 3:376-378).

³ John Bowden, Episcopal minister and

later a professor at Columbia (Joshua L. Chamberlain, *Universities and Their Sons: History, Influence and Characteristics of American Universities with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Alumni and Recipients of Honorary Degrees . . .*, 5 vols., Boston, 1898-1900, 2:103-104).

17TH.

At 5 o'clock we were going, and reach'd Fairfield by 9. I there delivered my letters to Mr. Burr¹ and Major Davenport: We were obliged to stay there to dinner; through the extreme heat of the weather. At four in the afternoon, we again set out, and rode 10 miles to Stratford. We waited there about half an hour, and set out again. 3 miles from Stratford we cross'd Connecticut River,² and rode about 11. miles after; besides more than 2 miles in a wrong road, we were obliged to proceed so slowly, in the dark that it was near 12 o'clock when we arrived at New-Haven; and when we got there nobody, in the place was up, so that it was with great difficulty that we got to an indifferent inn. Mr. de Chaumont's horses, are both badly gall'd. We could get but one apartment for both of us, and found some difficulty even to get one.

¹ Presumably Thaddeus Burr, owner of several large inherited estates in the Fairfield area, former representative in the Connecticut legislature, and holder of local offices (Charles Burr Todd, *A Gen-*

eral History of the Burr Family in America. With a Genealogical Record from 1570 to 1878, N.Y., 1878, p. 76-79).

² A mistake for the Housatonic River.

18TH.

In the morning I went to pay a visit to Mr. Platt,¹ and found my old friend Brush there. He introduced me to Mr. Broome, for

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whom I had Letters from his son in law Mr. Jarvis. He immediately went up with me to our lodgings and I introduced Mr. de Chaumont to him. He insisted upon our going, both of us and staying at his house while we remain here. I was in great hopes of seeing Mrs. Jarvis,² but she was at Huntington, and is not expected home under a month. Miss Betsey Broome is here, but is not at all sociable. In this she does not resemble her father, who is a sincere, open-hearted good man. He lives in a most agreeable Situation: his house is upon an eminence just opposite the harbour, so that the tides come up, within ten rods of it. Mr. Platt lives near him in the same position. Broome, Platt, and Brush have been partners in trade, but have now dissolv'd their connection. We dined at Mr. Broome's. After dinner we were going to see a cave, a few miles out of town, famous for having been the shelter of two of the regicides,³ in the time of Charles the 2d. but a violent thunder shower arose, and prevented us. It did not last more than half an hour; but for that time the wind blew like an hurricane, the rain shower'd down, and there were several of as heavy peals of thunder as I ever remember to have heard: we saw the lightning fall, into the water, about 20 rods from us. After it was over we went and drank tea with Mrs. Platt. Mr. Chaumont lodg'd at Mr. Broomes, and I at Mr. Platt's house.

¹ Jeremiah Platt, a New York merchant, was the business partner and brother-in-law of Samuel Broome, mentioned below, who had moved to New Haven in 1775 (Frederic Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut*, Albany, 1913, p. 664, 680; Donald Lines Jacobus, *Families of Ancient New Haven*, 8 vols. in 3, Baltimore, 1974, 2:344-345).

² Amelia Broome Jarvis, daughter of Samuel Broome and wife of James Jarvis of New York (Jacobus, *Families of Ancient New Haven*, 2:344-345).

³ William Goffe and his father-in-law, Edward Whalley, had been military leaders in the English Civil War and had signed the death warrant of Charles I. With the return of the monarchy a decade later, both men refused to surrender and were exempted from pardon. They fled England for Boston, and in 1661 went to New Haven, where they camped out in a cave that summer. The pair settled in Hadley, Mass., three years later (Isabel MacBeath Calder, *The New Haven Colony*, New Haven, 1934, p. 221-226).

19TH.

This morning I went with Mr. Brush, and delivered the Letters I had for this place. Mr. Chancey¹ for whom Coll. Humphreys gave me a Letter went with me, to Dr. Stiles² the President of the College; who is a curious character. Mr. Jefferson once told, me, he thought him an uncommon instance of the

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deepest learning without a spark of genius. He was very polite to me, and shew me, the Library, and the apparatus of the College: he has a few natural curiosities; but nothing very extraordinary. We dined at Mr. Platt's, and afterwards went to see Coll. Wadsworth, who arrived in town this day; and leaves it to-morrow morning for Hartford. Mr. Chaumont and myself afterwards went to the Ball. There has been for these last two months a dancing master here and has given a ball once a fort'night. He had not a very large number of scholars, and there were more ladies than gentlemen. The master of the school does not appear to be a good dancer himself; and do not think his pupils in general have made any great progress for the time they have been learning: there were a few very genteel young Ladies; a great many appear to have been favoured by nature, but not by the graces. At about 11. o'clock, Mr. Chaumont and myself retired, as we intend to leave this place early in the morning.

¹ Undoubtedly Charles Chauncy, New Haven lawyer, town officer, and representative in the legislature, who later served on the superior court (*The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D. President of Yale College*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 3 vols., N.Y., 1901, 2:407; 3:107, 111, 351, 354).

² Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, 1778-1795 (Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795*, New Haven, 1962). JQA presented to Stiles letters of introduction from JA and David Humphreys at this time (LbC, Adams Papers; *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles . . .*, ed. Dexter, 3:177).

20TH.

We tried my horse this morning in Mr. Chaumont Chaise, but could not make him go at all: so we put him before one of his horses and Dupré, his servant mounted him, in that manner he went very well. Mr. Broome, and Mr. Brush, who are so kind as to keep us Company as far as Hartford rode in a Chaise of their own. We went only sixteen miles before dinner. The weather is still very warm notwithstanding, the late thunder shower. After dinner we rode 12 miles further to Middletown. Dr. Johnson¹ whom I met at Fairfield, gave me a letter for Genl. Parsons,² one of the aldermen of this City. About 18 months ago five towns in this State, New-Haven, Hartford, New-London, Norwich and Middletown, form'd themselves into Corporations, and are now called Cities. Genl. Parsons told me, he was three years in College with my father, and was then very intimate with him. It gave me peculiar pleasure to meet with so old a friend of my fa-

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ther, and that circumstance greatly increased my reverence for the person.

We walk'd about the City which is one of the smallest of the five. But is very pleasantly situated on Connecticut River. The views from some parts of it are enchanting; and the river is a very beautiful one. In the evening Mr. Chaumont, Mr. Brush, and myself, went and bath'd in it. The general spent some time with us.

¹ William Samuel Johnson was a Connecticut lawyer, pre-Revolutionary political leader, but loyalist after independence was declared. He served later as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and as president of Columbia College, 1787–

1800 (*DAB*).

² Samuel Holden Parsons, brigadier, and later, major general in the Continental Army (Heitman, *Register Continental Army*, p. 9–10). Parsons was a correspondent of JA's in the early stages of the war.

21ST.

At six in the morning, we all left Middleton: and rode on to Hartford, where we arrived at about 9. The distance is 14 miles. For several miles on this side of Middleton, we rode along by the side of the river: and after we left it, we had from the top of an hill a most elegant prospect. Indeed there are a number in this Country, which looks as prosperous, and as fertile, as any I remember ever to have been through. We had some thoughts of stopping at Weathersfield, which is 3 miles from Hartford; and going to meeting there: this State is very famous for psalm singing, and Weathersfield is peculiarly distinguish'd: but we thought best upon the whole to go forward directly to Hartford. I was much fatigued when I arrived, and took a nap; after which I went and visited Coll. Wadsworth, who arrived in town last evening. We dined at our tavern, and after dinner, went to the meeting. Mr. Chaumont was struck with, the singing: he is a connoisseur in music, and was surprised to find so much harmony here. After Meeting I went and delivered a letter from my father to Mr. Trumbull,¹ the author of *McFingal*, who formerly studied law with him. I sat about 2 hours with him, and had some conversation with him, mostly upon the french poets, in which he is well versed. He is not very partial to Voltaire, and in that I agree perfectly in opinion with him. We afterwards went and Drank tea with Coll. Wadsworth, who lives in a very elegant manner:

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he made a very large fortune, by being agent for the french army, with Mr. *Carter*, or rather *Church*:² he has two fine daughters. Harriot, is not handsome, but very genteel. Betsey is only 11. years old, but promises to be a Beauty. After tea, we went and took a walk round the town, and on the banks of the river which is about 15 feet deep here but there is a bar at some distance from this place, which prevents large vessels from coming up to the town except in the spring when the river overflows. This is considered as the capital of the State, though New-Haven, has some pretensions to that title, and in a commercial view is better situated. We spent the Evening at Coll. Wadsworth's.

¹ Dated 28 April (LbC, Adams Papers). John Trumbull, the Connecticut poet and lawyer, had studied with JA in 1773–1774. He published the first part of his widely popular poem *McFingal* in 1775. Consisting of four cantos in Hudibrastic verse, it described the blunders of British leaders during the Revolution (Victor E. Gimmetad, *John Trumbull*, N.Y., 1974).

² John Barker Church, an Englishman who came to America under the assumed name of John Carter, was Wadsworth's business partner during the war (P. H. Woodward, *One Hundred Years of the Hartford Bank, Now the Hartford National Bank of Hartford, Conn.*, Hartford, 1892, p. 32–33).

22D.

At about 9 this morning, Mr. Broome, and Mr. Brush, left us and set out to return to New-Haven. Breakfasted with Coll. Wadsworth, who afterwards went with us three or four miles out of town, to shew us his farm. We saw there a couple of the largest oxen I ever beheld; and a number more uncommonly stout. This place is celebrated over the Continent for producing exceeding fine oxen, and it furnishes the New York and Boston markets with great quantities of Beef. The Coll. shew us his fields of grain and of grass, and his orchards. We return'd a little before noon: and left the Coll. for a short time. I went into a bookseller's shop, and there found a new publication, called the *Conquest of Canaan*, an american epic Poem, in eleven books, by Mr. T. Dwight. It is but lately that it was printed, and I have heard a very high Character of it, which induced me, to purchase it.¹ Mr. Wadsworth was so kind as to give me a copy of *McFingal*,² and these are the two pieces in which americans have endeavour'd most to soar as high, as European bards. *McFingal* is generally agreed to be equal, if not superior to *Hudibras*. Of the serious poem, no criticism has appeared; owing I suppose, to its being so lately publish'd.

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I met just before dinner with my old fellow scholar, Deane, who came from Weathersfield this morning. I was told he was in New London: had I known he was at Weathersfield, I should have stop'd there, on purpose to see him. For there is nothing I think more shameful, than to forget our old acquaintance. We all dined with Coll. Wadsworth, and at about 4 Mr. Chaumont, and myself, left them, and set away from the inn, about half an hour, afterwards. We rode only 16 miles this afternoon, to Captain Cox's tavern and it was after 9 in the evening when we got there. We could travel, but slowly, as the weather though cloudy, was very warm, and the horses were somewhat galled.

¹ JQA's copy, Hartford, 1785, is at MQA. Timothy Dwight was minister at Greenfield Hill, Conn., at this time and was president of Yale from 1795 to 1817. *The Conquest of Canaan*, Dwight's first im-

portant literary production, is filled with allusions to contemporary persons and events (Dexter, *Yale Graduates*, 3:321-333).

² JQA's copy has not been found.

23D.

It was almost seven o'clock before we got under way this morning. We rode about 10 miles and then cross'd Connecticut River; which serves there as a boundary between that State and Massachusetts.¹ Two miles after we had cross'd the river we came to Springfield. We breakfasted there, and stopp'd about an hour; after which we proceeded on our Journey about 14 miles further before dinner. The mistress of the tavern where we dined, told me my name, and said she knew me from my resemblance to my father who had passed several times this way.² At 4 o'clock we again set out, and found the roads so very bad, that it was almost ten before we got to *⟨East Chester⟩* Marlborough³ which was only 12 miles. Hills and rocks seem to have been the only things we have this day come across. I cannot recommend the roads of Massachusetts as a model.

¹ JQA is, of course, mistaken.

² Possibly JQA dined at Scott's Tavern in Palmer, fifteen miles from Springfield, whose owner and wife had been described as "great Patriots" by JA when he lodged there in Nov. 1774 (*Fleet's Pocket Alma-*

nack and Massachusetts Register, 1786; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 2:160).

³ Neither location is correct; they probably stayed in either Western [now Warren] or Brookfield, Mass., that night.

24TH.

One of the breast plates was broke, and we were obliged to send it a mile and half to be mended this morning, before we

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could proceed on our journey; so it was past eight when we left our tavern. Before one, we came to a very good inn: the best I think, that we have found on the road except Mr. Hall's. We had come 16 miles without stopping, and therefore we concluded to dine there. Between 3 and 4 we went again, and rode about 15 miles to ¹ where we arrived at about 8, in the Evening; our roads have been much better and the weather more agreeable than what we have had in general since we left N. York. We are now only 42 miles from Boston, and hope to get there to-morrow; as we are told the roads are upon the whole pretty good.

¹ Left blank in MS; JQA was probably in Shrewsbury, Mass.

THURSDAY. AUGUST 25TH. 1785.

St. Louis's day, a great holiday all over France, because it is the fête of their king's patron. Dupré called me up at three o'clock, being determined that we should not set out too late to day. Before 4. we were in the carriage, and rode 14 miles to Marlborough before 9. We breakfasted there; and dined at Waltham, which is 12 miles further. It was almost 5 when we finally set off upon our last Stage; and we got into Boston at about 9 o'clock; we first went to Bracket's tavern, but there was not a vacant apartment in the house. We then went to Mrs. Kilby's in State Street, where we found one chamber for us both. We were obliged to take up with this for the present: for we were extremely fatigued, both of us: and could not think of seeking any further at 10 o'clock at night.

26TH.

A tous les coeurs bien nés que la patrie est chere
Qu'avec ravissement je revois ce séjour.¹

No person who has not experienced it can conceive how much pleasure there is in returning to our Country after an absence of 6 years especially when it was left at the time of life, that I did, when I went last to Europe. The most trifling objects now appear interesting to me: in the morning I went to see my uncle Smith, but he was not at home. I saw my aunt² and Mr. Smith,³ who went with me to the Treasury office, where I found my uncle Cranch.⁴ I was introduced to a number of gentlemen, and met several of my old acquaintances. I delivered a Letter to Mr.

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Breck⁵ from the Marquis. Dined at Mr. Cranch's lodgings, where I found my Cousins Betsey⁶ and Lucy. In the afternoon they went to Cambridge, and I followed them there with Mr. Smith. At College I met my Cousin, and brother Charles, who entered about 6 weeks ago. We spent an hour with them, and were then obliged to return to Boston. I lodged at Deacon Smith's.

I shall not attempt to describe the different Sensations I experienced in meeting after so long an absence, the friends of my childhood, and a number of my nearest and dearest relations. This day will be forever too deeply rooted in my Memory, to require any written account of it. It has been one of the happiest I ever knew.

¹ Voltaire, *Tancrède*, Act III, scene i (*Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 72 vols., Kehl, Germany, 1784-1801, 4:391).

² Elizabeth Storer Smith (1726-1786), wife of Isaac Smith Sr., and aunt of AA.

³ William Smith (1755-1816), a Boston merchant and son of Isaac Smith Sr.

⁴ Richard Cranch (1726-1811) married Mary Smith, the sister of AA, in 1762. Cranch was at this time employed in the commonwealth's treasury office in Boston.

⁵ Samuel Breck Sr., a prominent Boston merchant, maritime agent of Louis XVI, and representative of the town in the legislature, 1782-1788 (*NEHGR*, 17:180 [April 1863]).

⁶ Elizabeth Cranch (1763-1811), called Betsy by her family, was the daughter of Richard and Mary (Smith) Cranch, and married Jacob Norton, minister at Weymouth, in 1789.

27TH.

Brother Charles came to town this morning. I paid a number of visits and dined, at Deacon Smith's, with Mr. Otis¹ and his family. At about 4 o'clock I mounted on horseback: and Mr. Chaumont in his Chaise with Mr. Toscan the french Consul; we went out and stopp'd first at Mr. Swan's² house in Dorchester, where the former governor Mr. Hancock³ lives, at present. He is much afflicted with the gout, and has it at this time. After spending about half an hour with him We went to Mr. Hichborne's⁴ Summer seat and drank tea. We found there the lieutenant governor⁵ with his Lady, and Mr. and Mrs. Swan. I left the Consul and Mr. Chaumont, and went as far as Genl. Warren's⁶ at Milton. He introduced me to his four sons, one of whom, Charles, is to sail in a few days for Europe: he means to spend the Winter at Lisbon, where his brother Winslow is: But I fear very much he will never reach Europe, I don't know that I ever saw a person look more wretchedly. He has been consumptive for a long time, and went last fall to the West Indies, where he recover'd his health in some measure, but lost it again by return-

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ing here in the spring. If he lives to reach Lisbon, I hope the Climate of Europe, which is so much better than that of St. Domingo, will restore him entirely.⁷ I left Milton between 7 and 8 and before I got to Mr. Cranch's, I again stopp'd at my uncle Adams's,⁸ and there saw my aged Grandmother,⁹ who enquired much after my Parents, and wishes them to return. I at length arrived at the end of my journey, at about 9 o'clock, and was welcomed by my aunt;¹⁰ I also found Mr. Tyler¹¹ there and was introduced to him.

¹ Samuel Allyn Otis, a Boston merchant and son-in-law of Deacon Isaac Smith (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 14:471-480).

² James Swan, a Boston merchant and speculator, and Revolutionary officer (DAB).

³ John Hancock was governor of Massachusetts (except for the years 1785-1787) from 1780 to 1793 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:416-446).

⁴ Benjamin Hichborn, Boston lawyer and Revolutionary officer, was well known to JA as carrier of his letters that were intercepted by the British (same, 17:36-44; JA, *Papers*, 3:90, 255-257).

⁵ Thomas Cushing, a moderate revolutionary who lost his place in the congress, was lieutenant governor, 1780-1788 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11:377-395).

⁶ James Warren, who served briefly as paymaster general in the Continental Army and major general in the militia, was on the Navy Board, 1777-1782, and was in and out of Massachusetts politics throughout his life (same, 11:584-606).

⁷ Charles died in Spain in November. Winslow, for whom JA was to seek an ap-

pointment as consul in Portugal, was a merchant in Lisbon at this time; he returned permanently to America later in the year (Mrs. Washington A. Roebling, *Richard Warren of the Mayflower and Some of His Descendants*, Boston, 1901, p. 28; Winslow Warren to JQA, 13 July 1784; JA to John Jay, 3 Dec. 1785, LbC, Adams Papers).

⁸ Peter Boylston Adams (1738-1823), JA's younger brother, a militia captain and Braintree officeholder.

⁹ Mrs. John Hall (1709-1797), formerly Susanna Boylston Adams, who lived with her son Peter Boylston after the death of her second husband in 1780 (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:3).

¹⁰ Mary (Smith) Cranch (1741-1811), AA's sister and wife of Richard Cranch.

¹¹ Royall Tyler, a Braintree lawyer and later an important early playwright and novelist. Tyler had been courting AA2 before her departure for Europe with AA in 1784. Subsequently the romance cooled, owing to Tyler's failure to answer her letters and to stories about his behavior sent to the Adamses by Mary Cranch, in whose house Tyler lived. For a full account, see JA, *Earliest Diary*, p. 18-30.

28TH.

Attended Mr. Wibird's¹ meeting forenoon, and afternoon. His voice and look was as familiar to me, as if I had not been absent. Among the People that were grown up before I went away, there were few or no new faces in the house: but there were but few young People, that I could recollect, 6 years have very little effect upon the appearance of men, and women, but a surprising one, upon that of Children. But of all the persons I have seen none have so compleatly altered as my Cousin W. Cranch. I

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never can realize the idea, of his being the same little boy I left in 1779, and I am told that I myself have alter'd nearly as much. When the afternoon service was over I went with Mr. Tyler down to my father's house,² and no object ever brought to my mind such a variety of different Sensations. It reminded me of the days of my Childhood, most of which were past in it, but it look'd so lonely, and melancholy without its inhabitants, as drew a deep sigh from my breast. I paid a visit to the Library, and found it in pretty good order.

¹ Rev. Anthony Wibird, minister at the First Church of Braintree (later Quincy) from 1755 until his death in 1800 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 12:226–230).

² This house on Franklin Street in Quincy is known today as the John Quincy Adams Birthplace and was JA's and AA's home from the time of their marriage in 1764. JA had given Tyler access to his law library in the house during his absence (JA, *Earliest Diary*, p. 25–26). For an illus-

tration of the house and the John Adams Birthplace next to it, see JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 1: facing 256; a description of the two houses is in HA2, "The Birthplaces of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams, Quincy, Massachusetts," *Old-Time New England*, 26:79–99 (Jan. 1936). The two houses are now part of the Adams National Historic Site administered by the National Park Service.

29TH.

At about 9 o'clock I set off for Boston, and stopp'd half an hour, at my uncle Adams's. Saw my Grandmother. I had agreed with Mr. Tyler, to wait for him at Genl. Warren's, half an hour. I stay'd more than an hour but he did not come. Mrs. Warren surprised me very much by informing me that Mr. Otis, with whom I dined on Saturday; had failed that evening. She said it was a very unexpected stroke to the family themselves. I believe before long every merchant in Boston will fail: for they seem all, to be breaking, one after the other. Charles Warren is to sail the latter end of this week for Cadiz. He was worse to day than common. It was noon before I got to Boston. I dined at Mr. Breck's in Company with the french Consul Mr. Toscan, and Mr. Appleton the brother of the gentleman I was acquainted with in England and France. It rain'd hard in the afternoon, so that we were obliged to stay; all the afternoon. At about 8 o'clock I left them all there, just ready to sit down to Cards. I thought if once I sat down there would be no getting away till very late. I found Deacon Smith and his family at Dr. Welch's.¹ They all look'd very dull: the old gentleman especially appeared very much affected, Mr. Otis married his Daughter,² and his failing, was very unexpected to him.

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¹ Thomas Welsh (1752–1831), a Boston physician and an army surgeon at the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. His wife, Abigail Kent (1750–1825), was a niece of Deacon Isaac Smith and a cousin

of AA.

² Deacon Smith's daughter Mary (1757–1839) married Samuel Allyne Otis, a second marriage for both, in 1782.

30TH.

This day the Supreme Judicial Court met, and I went and heard the chief justice, Mr. Cushing¹ deliver the charge to the grand Jury. He spoke with much dignity, and animadverted peculiarly upon the neglect, which many of the towns in the Commonwealth, have shown of late with respect to public schools. After the charge was deliver'd Mr. Thatcher² was called upon for a prayer, and although he had not a minute's warning spoke very well, and without the least embarrassment. I dined at Deacon Smith's, and after dinner waited upon Miss Betsey Cranch, to her lodgings. I afterwards mounted my horse, and went to Cambridge where I shall pass the night with my brother. I was caught in the rain, on the road and was almost wet through and through. Charles is much pleased with his situation; and has acquired an additional importance since he enter'd College.³

¹ William Cushing, chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court from 1777 and later an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court for twenty-one years (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:26–39).

² Peter Thacher, well-known for his orations and addresses during the Revolutionary era, was pastor of the Brattle Street Church from 1785 to 1802. He recorded in his diary this day that he gave a "prayer unexpectedly in the Supreme Court" (same, 17:237–247; MHi:Thacher Papers).

³ JQA probably is commenting upon CA's good fortune in acquiring a college room and showing promise as a scholar since entering Harvard earlier in the month. He elaborated to AA2 that "Charles

is very much pleased with his situation here: and comes on well with his Studies. His Class is one of the most numerous of any that have entered" (JQA to AA2, 29 Aug.–7 Sept., Adams Papers). Unlike many of his classmates who were forced to live in town, CA roomed in Hollis Hall, where "cousin Billy" also lived (Mary Smith Cranch to AA, 14 Aug.–[15?] Sept., Adams Papers). JQA seemed pleased with CA's "Chambermate," Samuel Walker, "a youth, whose thirst for knowledge is insatiable. . . . I am persuaded it will afford peculiar Satisfaction to our Parents, who well know how much benefit is derived from the Spur of Emulation" (JQA to AA2, 20–28 Aug., Adams Papers).

31ST.

This morning Mr. Chaumont came to the College, with Mr. Toscan, and two other french gentlemen, Mr. Issotier, and Mr. Serano. We went and saw all the curiosities belonging to the Col-

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lege, which are not very numerous. There are several exceeding fine pictures done by Mr. Copley, all portraits. The library is good, without being magnificent. We all paid a visit to Mr. Willard the president of the College. The other gentlemen left me with him, and after he had made enquiries concerning my acquisitions: he advised me to wait till next spring before I offer: and then enter for three months in the junior Sophister Class.¹ I left him and return'd to the gentlemen. We went back to Boston, and got there at about 11. I paid a number of visits, and dined with Deacon Storer.² After dinner I went with Mr. Chaumont and visited Mr. Cushing the lieutenant Governor: but he was not at home. I met Mr. Appleton, and went with him to his father's house. Return'd in the evening to Mr. Storer's, and supped there. Rec'd a letter from my Sister, through N. York.³

¹ Joseph Willard, president of Harvard, 1781–1804. Willard advised JQA to study Greek and Latin, two studies in which he needed further preparation, with his uncle John Shaw in Haverhill (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 16:253–265; Mary Smith Cranch to AA, 14 Aug.–[15?]

Sept. 1785, Adams Papers).

² Ebenezer Storer, a Boston merchant, treasurer of Harvard College since 1777, and deacon of the Church in Brattle Square (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 12:208–214).

³ AA2 to JQA, 13 June, not found.

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 1ST. 1785.

Went and sat with Mr. de Chaumont a couple of hours, and afterwards accompanied him, and Mr. Toscan &c to Concert hall; to see Mr. Turner's¹ scholars dance. Once every fortnight, there is such a forenoon ball, from 1. o'clock to three. There were a number of minuets and country dances performed pretty well: and all the beauties of Boston seem'd to be assembled there in one bright constellation. At about 2 1/2, we retired, and waited upon Mr. Cushing the L. Govr. to dinner. There was not a large Company: perhaps a dozen or 14 persons. After dinner we went to pay a visit to Mr. Swan but we met him in the Street going for his Lady. We accompanied him, and sat an hour at Mr. Deneufville's. I do not admire to see this man's wife go into the best Company in this City: I think the people here, should have a Sense of their own Dignity; and not suffer their hospitality to overcome their delicacy.² In Holland no Gentleman or Lady would have kept Company with this woman: and I think it would be better if it was so here.

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¹ William Turner, the owner of Boston's Concert Hall, started dancing classes there in 1773 (David McKay, "William Selby, Musical Emigré in Colonial Boston," *The Musical Quarterly*, 57:612-613

[Oct. 1971]).

² De Neufville's second wife, Anna Margaretha Langmak, was pregnant and gave birth to a daughter on 7 Sept. (*Nieuw Ned. Biog. Woordenboek*, 8:1213-1214).

2D.

Mr. Chaumont intended to set out early in the morning for Philadelphia (or rather Albany,) but it rain'd so hard that he was obliged to postpone it till the afternoon. I went to his lodgings at about 9 o'clock, and stay'd till about noon. We then went to a billiard table, and play'd a game. I dined at Mr. Smith's. After dinner I return'd to Mr. de Chaumont's lodgings, and found him, making preparations for his departure. At about 4 o'clock he set out in his Chaise with the Consul: Mr. Issotier Mr. Serane, and myself accompanied him on horseback. Mr. Toscan, went only to the neck, and then left us. The rest of us, went about 4 miles further and at 5 o'clock or thereabouts we took our leave of Mr. Chaumont who proposes going as far as Waltham to night. I spent the evening at Mr. Foster's¹ house, with my uncle Cranch, and Dr. Tufts.²

¹ Probably William Foster, a Boston merchant, brother and business partner of Joseph Foster, whom AA and AA2 had met on board the *Active* on their way to Europe in 1784. Soon after JQA's arrival in Boston, Mary Smith Cranch arranged to board the Adams boys at Mr. Foster's, "whenever they are not invited else Where" (Frederick Clifton Pierce, *Foster Genealogy; Being The Record of the Posterity of Reginald Foster . . .*, 2 vols., Chicago,

1899, 2:940-941; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:156, 164; Thwing Catalogue, MHi; Mary Smith Cranch to AA, 14 Aug.-[15?] Sept., Adams Papers).

² Dr. Cotton Tufts Sr. (1732-1815) was AA's uncle by marriage. While JA and AA were in Europe, Tufts had a power of attorney to handle JA's business affairs, including those related to the education of his sons (JA to Cotton Tufts, 6 Sept. 1784, Adams Papers, Fourth Generation).

3D.

Visited the Consul in the morning, and spent an hour with him. At about noon I left Boston, and went before dinner as far as Milton. When I got there, I found Mrs. Warren had just left it with her son Charles for Boston where he is now gone to embark; the vessel is to sail on monday or Tuesday. I dined with the genl., and his three remaining sons, James, Harry, and George. The genl. bought this seat at Milton about 4 years ago; it formerly belonged to Governor Hutchinson, and is a very beautiful

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situation.¹ Yet the genl. talks of selling it again, and going back to live on his farm at Plimouth: At about 4 o'clock I set out again, for Braintree; stopp'd at My uncle Adams's and drank tea; and got to Mr. Cranch's, at about 7 o'clock.

¹ The Hutchinson-Warren House on Milton Hill is illustrated in *Adams Family Correspondence*, 4: facing 189, and described in same, p. ix-x.

4TH.

Attended the meeting; forenoon, and afternoon. I went after meeting and drank tea, and spent a couple of hours with my uncle Adams. Past 6 o'clock before I got home. If the weather should be good I shall set out to-morrow with my aunt, to go to Haverhill.

5TH.

The weather look'd so much like rain in the morning, that we concluded to defer our journey to Haverhill, till to-morrow. Mr. Cranch went to Boston in the morning. I was employ'd, a great part of the day in putting my things in order. I find, that the largest of all my trunks is missing, and I know not where it is. I wrote to my uncle Smith, for Information on the subject. In the afternoon I tried my horse, in my uncle's Chaise, and find he goes as well as if he had been broken to it. I rode him backwards and forwards 2 or 3 miles and he did not give me the least trouble. This is a very pleasing circumstance to me; and the more so, because I did not expect it; for at New Haven, we could not make him go at all. Genl. Palmer¹ came and drank tea with Mrs. Cranch. The weather cleared up in the afternoon.

¹ Joseph Palmer (1716-1788), Revolutionary soldier and Massachusetts politician, had been involved since 1783 in various business ventures in Germantown and Dorchester. Palmer was the husband of Mary Cranch, the sister of AA's brother-in-law Richard Cranch.

6TH.

At about 9 o'clock in the morning I again tackled my horse into my uncle's Chaise, and we put every thing into it, and set out, and arrived at Boston at about 11. I immediately went to my uncle Smith's store, and enquired after the missing trunk. I found it was in one corner of the Store. I then went to his House and found there a Letter from the Marquis de la Fayette:¹ I also

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received Letters from My father, mother and Sister dated as late as June 27th.² Waited on Mr. Breck with a paper upon the subject of refining oil. Dined at Mr. Foster's and immediately after dinner had the horse again tackled in the Chaise. By 3 1/2 o'clock we were ready, and as the wind was somewhat high my aunt did not incline to cross the ferry: so we went round, over the neck. We stopp'd at Mr. Gannett's, the steward of the College. We at first intended to go as far as Lincoln, to night, but have been perswaded to remain here. My Brother and Cousin drank tea with us, and I spent the evening with them, at the College.

¹ 12 June (Adams Papers). The paper for Samuel Breck referred to later in the entry was enclosed in Lafayette's letter.

² JA to JQA, 26 June; AA to JQA, 26-27 June (Adams Papers). AA2's letter has not been found.

7TH.

We breakfasted early and were on our way by 8 o'clock. We stopp'd at Captain Brookes's¹ house in Mystic, four miles from Cambridge, [and?] about a quarter of a mile. We then rode 10 miles further; after which we stopp'd an hour to rest our horse. So far we found the roads very good: but the next 6 miles, to Mr. French,² (the minister at Andover)'s house are very sandy and heavy. We dined there: Mr. French was not at home. At 3 o'clock, we left Andover and at about 5 1/2 got to the river which runs by Haverhill. The roads were not good, being sometimes sandy, and sometimes very hilly. We cross'd the river in a flat bottom'd boat, and at 6 o'clock arrived at Mr. Shaw's;³ where I found my brother Tom, who when I left him was not 7 years old, and is now 13. Mr. Thaxter too who sailed in the first french Packet immediately after the Peace is here, and spent the evening at my uncle's. He is practising the Law and has a good run of business.

¹ Capt. Caleb Brooks Jr. (1745-1812), brother of Gen. John Brooks and a distant cousin of JQA's through his father's (Boylston) family (Henry Bond, *Family Memorials. Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts . . .*, 2 vols. in 1, Boston, 1855, p. 703-704, 723-724; Richard B. Coolidge, "The Brooks Estates in Medford from 1660 to 1927," *Medford Hist. Register*, 30:5-7 [March 1927]).

² Jonathan French, minister at South Church from 1772 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:514-520).

³ John Shaw (1748-1794), brother-in-law of AA, minister at Haverhill from 1777. JQA was to live in his house until the following March. Shaw had been the preceptor of CA and TBA since 1783. JQA had been advised to study with Shaw until the following spring, though Shaw at this date had apparently not yet decided to take him as a student because of the great responsibility in trying "to qualify a young Gentle man to enter the University as Junior Sophister" (AA to JA, 28 April 1783; Elizabeth Smith Shaw to AA, 7 Sept. 1785, both Adams Papers).

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8TH.

I went in the morning down to Mr. Thaxter's office, and spent all the forenoon with him, talking over, old matters. He dined with us, at my uncle's; and spent part of the afternoon here. I am told he is paying his addresses to a Miss Duncan,¹ who is reputed the greatest beauty in Haverhill, but he will not own it.

¹ Elizabeth Duncan, daughter of James Sr. and Elizabeth (Bell) Duncan, eventually married John Thaxter in Nov. 1787 (James Duncan Phillips, "James Duncan and Son: Merchants, Capitalists, and Chain Store Operators," *Essex Inst., Hist. Colls.*, 89:53 [Jan. 1953]).

9TH.

Spent the forenoon with Mr. Thaxter at his office. He went with me, and introduced me, to Mr. White¹ and his family. His Daughter Miss Peggy, is one of the belles of this place. I had heard much said of her before I went to the house; and when I saw her, I supposed that must be Mrs. White.² She is very fat and appears much older than she is: I should certainly suppose her not under 30, and she is not yet 20. But she is as fair as any person I ever saw: too much so, I think, to be beautiful: this may be a paradox: but my ideas of beauty are not like those of many People, and I do not admire a complexion over fair. Dined at My uncle's, and directly after dinner I went with my uncle, and two aunts, over the river, to pay a visit to Mr. Symme's, the minister at Andover, about 7 miles from the ferry. We found the old gentleman laid up; but he received his Company with politeness. After staying there about 2 hours, we return'd again to Haverhill. The roads are pretty good, but for want of rain are now disagreeably dusty. We found on our return a large Company of young ladies, with Miss Hazen.³ This is a neice of General Hazen and has boarded in my uncle's house about a twelve month. She appears to me to have something peculiar in her Character: I shall therefore wait, till I have a better acquaintance with her; before I attempt to give any description of it.

¹ John White Sr. (1725–1800), a Haverhill merchant (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:154–156).

² Sarah Leonard LeBaron White, the second wife of John Sr., and mother of Peggy and Leonard (same, 6:326).

³ After the death of Anna (Nancy) Hazen's father, Capt. John Hazen, and the remarriage of her mother, she became the

ward of her uncle, Gen. Moses Hazen of Haverhill, Mass., and Troy, N.Y., who was a cousin of the Whites. Nancy was to become the first girl JQA was really attracted to, but her continued presence was to cause him much discomfort eventually (Tracy Elliot Hazen, *The Hazen Family in America*, ed. Donald Lines Jacobus, Thomaston, Conn., 1947, p. 89–90).

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10TH.

We all dined this day at Mr. White's. The only other strangers present, were Mr. Smith,¹ the minister of the other meeting house in this place, and Mr. B. Bartlett,² a merchant. Mr. Smith proposes going into the Jersies, and to set out in the beginning of next week. A Vessel belonging to Mr. White was launch'd in the afternoon, but we missed seeing it, as it went sooner than was expected.

¹ Hezekiah Smith was installed as minister in 1766, just after Haverhill's New Lights had formed a Baptist society; there he remained throughout his life (James McLachlan, *Princetonians, 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary*, Princeton, 1976, p. 411-413).

² Bailey Bartlett married Peggy White, sister of JQA's Harvard classmate Leonard White, in Nov. 1786 (Daniel Appleton White and Annie Frances Richards, *The Descendants of William White, of Haverhill, Mass. . . .*, Boston, 1889, p. 77-78).

11TH.

Attended Mr. Shaws meeting; forenoon, and afternoon. Took a walk down by the side of the river; with Mr. Thaxter. The Situation of the town is very agreeable.

12TH.

Spent part of the forenoon with Mr. Thaxter at his Office. At 12 o'clock, we went, to a Collation, given by Dr. Woodbury who is building an house, and who moreover was yesterday first published for marriage; it seems that upon both these occasions it is Customary here, for a man to invite all his male friends, to an entertainment of this kind, and I as a visitor at Mr. Shaw's was ask'd. After dinner, I went out with my brother and a gun, but could meet with no game. A solitary Robin, was all we brought, back. We found Company when we return'd. Mr. Collins, the minister of a neighbouring town. Miss Hazen thinks he is not sufficiently attentive to his wife, and I am of her opinion. His looks I think are enough to chill one in a hot day. I should rather take him for a dutchman, than an American.

13TH.

At about 9 this morning we left Haverhill, cross'd the river, and stopp'd first at Mr. Symmes's, and afterwards at Mr. French's, but a few minutes at each. After we had rode, about a

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mile beyond Mr. French's house, we turn'd away from the road we came to Haverhill by, and took the Lincoln road: but I was very much surprised, to see that very few persons knew, any thing about Lincoln, although it is not more than 22 miles distant from Andover: I met a man whom I judg'd by his appearance to be turn'd of sixty: when I enquired of him the road to Lincoln; his answer was, that he knew of no such place: how many mortals,

On the self same spot,
Are born, take nurture, propagate, and rot,¹

entirely ignorant of every thing that lies ten miles beyond it? But in this Country, where every man has an opportunity of displaying the talents he possesses; and where the education of the People, is so much more attended to, than in any part of Europe, or perhaps of the world, I did not expect to find beings of that sort.

rich poor august
How great! how low! how abject! How sublime!
How wonderful! how complicate is man!²

We rode through about 8 miles of sand, and 4 of rocks, after which the road was better: at about 6 o'clock, we arrived at Lincoln, and immediately went to my aunt Smith's.³ She has five children with her, and one at Mr. Shaw's.⁴ Billy, Louisa, Polly, Isaac, and Charles are here. The eldest is not more than 14 years old: the youngest is about 6. Oh! it almost makes my heart, shrink within me; when I look on these fine Children; to think of the Prospects before them: entirely the effects of extravagance in a father: what a Lesson! Surely providence makes sometimes use of these means, to terrify those who can be actuated by no other principle, into the performance of their duty.

¹ "An Essay on Man," Epistle II, line 63.

² "How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,/How complicate, how wonderful, is man!" (Edward Young, "The Complaint; Or, Night Thoughts," Night I, lines [68-69], *Poetical Works*, 2 vols., Boston, 1854, 1:6).

³ Catharine Louisa Salmon Smith (1749-1824), wife of William Smith Jr., the brother of AA. Smith (1746-1787), as

the rest of JQA's entry suggests, had burdened his wife and children with cares through his improvidence and neglect, though his precise activities have not been fully pieced together. He had settled his family on his father's property in Lincoln before the Revolution and was undoubtedly engaged in trade during the years after the war. Smith had been absent from his family for the past two years and was seldom heard from, and his wife, in a

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letter to AA of 26 Oct. (Adams Papers), hoped "for his reformation and restoration to virtue and to his family." According to other family members, Smith suffered from alcoholism. Besides having deserted his family, Smith was on trial in New York during these months on a charge of counterfeiting, of which he was later ac-

quitted. When he died two years later, he was still separated from his family (Mary Smith Cranch to AA, 10 Dec. 1785; 22 March-9 April 1786, 21 Oct. 1787, Adams Papers; CFA, *Diary*, 5:143-144).

⁴ This was Elizabeth (1771-1854), the youngest of the Smiths' six children.

14TH.

Dined at Lincoln, and immediately after dinner we again proceeded on our journey and by 5 o'clock, got to Cambridge, which is 12 miles: we came through *Concord*, and *Lexington* which 12 years ago were of no note, but which have been since rendered ever memorable, by being the place, where the first martyrs in the glorious cause of American Liberty, bled, (April 19th. 1775). Posterity will revere this spot of Land, more, than the Dutch do the place where Egmont and Horn, suffered; which is at Brussels.

We drank tea at Cambridge, and at about 6 we set out for Boston. We cross'd the ferry at about dusk; and got to Mr. Cranch's lodgings, just in good Season. We found Miss Betsey had been very unwell, but recovering. Mr. I. Smith,¹ came in a few minutes after we got there: and I went with him to a Club² of which he was member. I found there Dr. Welch, Dr. Dexter,³ Dr. Appleton,⁴ and Mr. Brewster. It was at Mr. Clarkes⁵ house; this gentleman is colleague to Dr. Chauncy, in the Ministry, and bears a good Character as a preacher. At about 9. I went home with Mr. Smith. His father and mother yesterday left the Town, with the Governor,⁶ Lieutenant Governor, and their Ladies to go to Princeton, to Mr. Gill's⁷ Seat. He gave me a Letter from my friend Brush, in New Haven.⁸

¹ Isaac Smith Jr. (1749-1829), son of Deacon Isaac Smith and cousin of AA. Smith fled to England as a loyalist in 1775, but returned to America in 1784. Trained in the ministry, he preached in various places after his return but never received a call. Later he served as Harvard librarian, 1787-1791, and preceptor of Dummer Academy, 1791-1809 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 16:523-530).

² This was undoubtedly the Wednesday Evening Club, founded in 1777 by four

clergymen, four doctors, four lawyers, and four "merchants, manufacturers and gentlemen of literature and leisure." Neither Brewster nor Isaac Smith Jr. were apparently members, however, although Smith's brother, William, was (*The Centennial Celebration of the Wednesday Evening Club: Instituted June 21, 1777*, Boston, 1878, p. 142-145).

³ Aaron Dexter, Boston physician and Erving Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica at Harvard, 1783-1816

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([Charles C. Smith], "Notice of Aaron Dexter, M.D.," MHS, *Procs.*, 1 [1791–1835]:421–423).

⁴ Nathaniel Walker Appleton, half-brother of John and Thomas Appleton, was a Boston physician and a founder of the Massachusetts Medical Society (Walter L. Burrage, *History of the Massachusetts Medical Society with Brief Biographies of the Founders and Chief Officers, 1781–1922* [Boston], 1923, p. 34–36; W. S. Appleton, *Genealogy of the Appleton Family*, Boston, 1874, p. 14).

⁵ John Clarke was later minister of the

First Church of Boston ("Sketch of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. Dr. Clarke," MHS, *Colls.*, 1st ser., 6 [1800]:iii–ix).

⁶ James Bowdoin served two terms as governor of Massachusetts, 1785–1787 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11: 514–550).

⁷ John Gill, captain of the Continental artillery during the Revolution and owner of extensive potash lands in Princeton, Mass. (same, 17:521–522).

⁸ Presumably Eliphalet Brush to JQA, 29 Aug. (Adams Papers).

15TH.

This morning my brother Charles and Cousin Cranch, came from Cambridge to see us. I at length went, and got my sword and hat, which have been at Mrs. Kilby's, ever since I arrived here first: Dined with Mr. Smith; I intended to go to Braintree in the afternoon, but was deterred, by an appearance of bad weather, but as it cleared up at about 5 o'clock, I rode, over the neck with my Cousin Betsey. When we got to Roxbury we turn'd back again. Spent some time with my uncle Cranch, and then return'd to Deacon Smith's.

16TH.

At about 9 this morning I went to Mr. Foster's, and found my Cousin Betsey Cranch ready to go with me. We then set out in the Chaise, and at about 11. got to Braintree where we found only Mr. Tyler, and cousin Lucy. She had a letter from Miss Hazen which I had a great curiosity to see; but could not prevail upon her to show it me. Mr. Tyler came up from Boston last Evening. Parson Wibird was here in the evening but I did not see him.

17TH.

Great part of the day was spent in reading; and writing to my friends in Europe;¹ a vessel is to sail e'er long. At about 4 o'clock, Mr. and Mrs. Cranch return'd home. Mr. Tyler too, went out early in the morning and did not return till the evening.

¹ The only extant letter written (in part) on this day was to AA2, 8–18 Sept. (Adams Papers).

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18TH.

The weather in the morning look'd stormy, and was showery at different times all day. I attended however Mr. Wibird's sermons forenoon and afternoon; he was this day remarkably short, and did not either time keep us more than an hour and an half: A shower fell just as the afternoon meeting, was over; and Mr. Tyler and myself went over the way, to Mrs. Church's. We borrow'd her Chaise of her, and went down first to Mrs. Quincy's.¹ We found Mr. and Mrs. Guild² there; they both appear in an ill State, of health; they have been unfortunate of late, but bear it with exemplary firmness. Mrs. Quincy is an agreeable old Lady, and Nancy,³ has always the Complaisant smile on her Countenance. She is small, and fat, consequently not a beauty: yet, considering the amiable Character she bears, and her fortune which is in this Country, far from being mean, I wonder she has not yet got married: her time is not come say the girls. After drinking tea we left Mrs. Quincy's House, and on our road home, stop'd at Mr. Alleyne's and spent half an hour there. We found Mr. Boice Miss Hannah Clark's admirer: it is said they are to be married ere long. We return'd home at about 8 o'clock.

¹ Ann Marsh Quincy (ca. 1723–1805), the third wife of Josiah Quincy Sr. (1710–1784).

² Elizabeth Quincy Guild (1757–1825), daughter of Josiah Quincy Sr. by his sec-

ond wife, Elizabeth Waldron Quincy (1722–1759), and wife of Benjamin Guild.

³ Ann (Nancy) Quincy (1763–1844), daughter of Josiah Quincy Sr. and Ann Marsh Quincy.

19TH.

Mr. Cranch went to Boston in the morning. I staid a great part of the day at home writing. Mr. Tyler, was engaged all day, in business.

20TH.

Mr. Tyler was again taken up the whole day. In the afternoon I went with my Cousins, over to Weymouth to see Mrs. Tufts¹ who is recovering from a long and dangerous illness. We spent about an hour and drank tea there. I saw at a distance the solitary house which was my Grandfather's:² but had no inclination. Whence arises this antipathy, to places where those who are dear to us have died? Why does the involuntary tear, start from the eye, at the sight of them? It surely must arise from a

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good principle, for although these feelings are painful, yet I would not be free from them.

While we were gone, Miss Lucy Apthorp, with her future husband Mr. Nash,³ came in to pay a visit to my Cousins. They afterwards set off together for Boston, where they are next Saturday, to be united. The family will go to-morrow.

¹ Lucy Quincy Tufts (1729–1785), wife of Dr. Cotton Tufts Sr., and JQA's great-aunt; she died after a lingering illness on 30 Oct.

² Rev. William Smith (1707–1783), father of AA, had been minister of the First Church of Weymouth.

³ Lucy Ann Apthorp, daughter of

James Apthorp, of Braintree, married Richard Nash of Cornwall, England, an officer in the British navy, four days later (entry for 24 Sept., below; John Wentworth, *The Wentworth Genealogy*, 2 vols., Boston, 1870, 1:306; *Boston Gazette*, 26 Sept.).

21ST.

Hazy disagreeable weather: was confined all day to the House, and was for the most part employ'd in preparing my trunks, that are to go to Haverhill. Mr. Tyler's business was finish'd last night, he was the greatest part of this day writing to Europe.¹

¹ If this included letters to the Adamses in Europe, none has been found.

22D.

This morning I sent down a Cart with my two trunks that are going to Haverhill. I intended to go myself in the forenoon, but at length resolv'd to go and dine with Mrs. Quincy, and from thence go forward to Boston. My two good Cousins went in the Chaise; I walk'd it, with Mr. Tyler. We were not expected, and somewhat late: we found Parson Wibird there, who ask'd me abundance, of questions, mostly concerning the Women of the different Countries I had been in. I observed this to him, and he said, "*Yes I always inquire about the best things first*" an honourable testimony in favour of the Ladies, as it comes from an old Batchelor; who I believe would have spent his days much more pleasantly than he has, had he taken to himself, one of these best things thirty five years ago. Of all negative happiness, I think, that attending the life of an old batchelor is the most insipid.

On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
Some pious drops the closing eye requires.¹

After dinner Mr. Tyler, and I mounted our horses, and trudg'd

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on towards Boston: at Milton, we stopp'd for half an hour at Genl: Warren's, and found Mrs. Otis there. At about 5 o'clock, we got to the neck: there Mr. Tyler left me, and went to Jamaica Plains where his mother lives. When I got to my uncle Cranch's lodgings, he told me, that the Stage between this and Haverhill, will not go this week; so that my trunks cannot be sent. Went to my uncle Smith's. Mrs. Otis and Mrs. Welch spent the evening there, and I was obliged to take a hand at whist, which is never very agreeable to me, but which I always think myself obliged to do, when a party cannot otherwise be made.

¹ Thomas Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," lines 89-90. On 29 Sept. 1782 JQA copied this poem into one of his poetical commonplace books (M/JQA/26, Adams Papers, Microfilms,

Reel No. 221). JQA also may have had in his possession at this time the *Poetical Works of Mr. Gray*, new edn., London, 1785, now at MQA, which contains his book-plate.

23D.

At 9 this morning I went to see about getting my trunks to Haverhill: Mr. Cranch told me; they have been put on board a vessel, that will sail in two or three days for Newbury Port and from thence, a conveyance will easily be found for sending them to Haverhill. I visited Mr. Toscan; and was afterwards introduced to Mr. Hughes, Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Gardiner, all three Lawyers. The last, on the 4th. of July, pronounced the most curious, blank verse discourse, that I ever read.¹ He shows beyond all dispute that he is a great admirer of blank verse. Some critics pretend that blank verse is the most noble, and most perfect, in English Poetry. Mr. G: opinion on that subject seems to go further still. He seems to think that it is preferable even upon common occasions to prose, and when I was introduced, I expected to hear him break out into some Rhapsody.

Dined at the French Consuls, and in the afternoon went with him and visited the Governor, and Mr. Russel: I there saw Mr. Seaver who arrived yesterday in a vessel from St. Petersburg. He inform'd us that the Russian Army in time of Peace was composed of 450,000 men. This was a piece of news to me, and would be I fancy to a Russian: I went with the Consul and Mr. Serane, and drank tea at Mr. Tudor's,² who was very polite. Mr. Serane, sung, play'd on the violin, and on the guittar; this gentleman, though only nineteen years old, is quite a *virtuose*. I spent the evening, and supped at Mr. B. Austin's.³ I was again, unwillingly

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obliged to play all the evening at Whist. I used formerly to be very fond of cards, and could spend evening after evening at play. Whence my present aversion to them arises I know not: but wish it may continue; for I think, that if playing cards is excusable in a woman, it is, for a man, but a miserable loss of time at best. When we rose from Supper it was so late, that I supposed Deacon Smith's family would be in bed: and went with Mr. Tyler who lodges at Mr. Palmer's. It was 12 before we retired.

¹ *An Oration, Delivered July 4, 1785, At the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, In Celebration of the Anniversary of American Independence*, [Boston], 1785.

² William Tudor, judge advocate in the Continental Army and a Boston lawyer,

who had studied law with JA from 1769 to 1772 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:252–265).

³ Benjamin Austin, a popular Boston political figure (DAB).

24TH.

This forenoon I was present at the marriage, of Mr. Nash and Miss Apthorp. They were married in the Chapel by Mr. Parker,¹ as Mr. Freeman,² the minister there, not having receiv'd orders, cannot perform the Ceremony. He was however present and in the Pulpit, where he was kind enough to give me a place. Mr. Tyler, who is intimate with him, introduced me to him. Mr. Nash was dress'd in his uniform, plainly, as becomes an Officer, and a gentleman. Miss Apthorp, was elegantly dress'd, though the colour of her gown appear'd to me, sober for the occasion. The old man³ look'd happy, as if he was giving his Daughter to a member of the British royal family. The mother appeared dejected, nor can any person, who considers the consequences of this event, wonder at it. The poor girl herself, as the ceremony was performing, trembled like a leaf—and for my heart I could not help trembling for her too. Her prospects are not, I think to be envied. Her father may think it, an honour for her to be connected with a british officer.

Mais sans argent l'honneur n'est qu'une maladie.⁴

The gentleman's father is purser on board a king's ship. He himself is 1st. Lieutenant on board another; his fortune independent of his pay, is not large I am told, and surely if an officer's pay is scarcely sufficient to maintain him alone, it must fall short when he has a wife and family to support. But what with many People, would be a still greater objection to their union, is that this pair 3

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months ago were perfect strangers to each other. Tinder, is but too often the emblem of a sudden passion: I wish it may not be in this Case. I sincerely hope, that the maxim *audaces fortuna juvat*,⁵ may prove just, and that every sort of Happiness may attend them through Life.

Dined at Mr. Palmer's, and sent an excuse to Mr. Russel, who had invited me. The weather was disagreeable all the morning, and at about noon it began to be hazy. It continued so, all the afternoon; but I intended notwithstanding that, to go out this evening as far as Genl. Warren's. I had my horse saddled and bridled, when the rain began to shower down in such a manner, that I determined at length to remain in town. I went with Mr. Tyler, and spent the evening with Mr. Gore,⁶ a lawyer. He spoke of a Mr. le Washington,⁷ who arrived here in the last vessel from London; a traveller greatly improved in the art of fiction. Slept again at Mr. Palmer's.

¹ Samuel Parker was installed as minister of Trinity Church in Boston in 1774 and was elected Episcopal Bishop of the Eastern Diocese in 1804 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 16:76-84).

² James Freeman, appointed reader at King's Chapel, Boston, in 1783 and ordained rector by the congregation in 1787 after higher Episcopal authorities in New York refused to ordain him because of his unorthodox views (Francis William Pitt Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel in Boston . . .*, Boston, 1833, p. 135, 139-142).

³ James Apthorp, of Braintree, the father of Lucy Ann (John Wentworth, *The Wentworth Genealogy*, 2 vols., Boston, 1870, 1:300-301, 306).

⁴ "Mais l'honneur sans argent n'est qu'une maladie," Jean Racine, *Les Plai-*

deurs, Act I, scene i, [line 11] (*Oeuvres de Jean Racine avec des commentaires*, 8 vols., Paris, 1768, 2:178). There are two editions of Racine's works at MQA published before this date, both with JQA's bookplate.

⁵ Fortune favors the bold.

⁶ Christopher Gore, member of the state constitutional convention in 1788 and in 1796 commissioner to settle American claims against England under Jay's Treaty. He later served Massachusetts as governor and U.S. Senator (*Hist. of Suffolk Co., Mass.*, 1:225; *Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

⁷ Cited in the *Massachusetts Spy*, 15 Sept., as "Mr. Washington," but otherwise unidentified. JQA's letter to AA2, 19-30 Sept. (Adams Papers) makes it clear that Washington was a teller of "extravagant Stories" and not a writer of fiction.

25TH.

It continued raining all night, and in the morning so that I could not go out of town. We went to the Chapel, and heard Mr. Freeman preach. This gentleman has adopted the antetrinitarian¹ System, which has of late appear'd in this Country. Such religious freedom, as America, enjoys, must always have a tendency to increase the number of religious sects: but if this be a disadvantage, it is more than balanced by the liberal Sentiments which every sect adopts with respect to all the rest. After

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Church was over Mr. Tyler and myself, mounted our horses and cross'd the neck together; at Roxbury he left me, and went to his Mamma's. I proceeded to Braintree. I got to the meeting house, a little before the service began, and attended it. The weather clear'd up this afternoon, and promises to continue fair.

¹ That is, Anti-Trinitarian. Freeman, with his strong liberal tendencies, was moving King's Chapel from Anglicanism toward Unitarianism (Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New Haven, 1972, p. 388–389, 392).

26TH.

Mr. Tyler, was to return last evening, but did not. My two Cousins went last Saturday to Boston and will not return this week. My uncle, went this afternoon to Boston so that my aunt and I are now at home quite alone. In the forenoon, I went out with my gun; and took a long walk: but found no game of any kind. In the afternoon I went down to our house, and looked over many of the things. I can never feel gay in this house, while its owners are absent, and this evening my aunt accused me of being melancholy; a reproach I am very seldom loaded with. I had a disagreeable head ache, and really felt very dull.

27TH.

Mr. Tyler came from Boston last evening; was pretty busy in the forenoon; I went and paid a visit to Mr. Apthorp, next door neighbour to my uncle: he came from Boston this morning and is going back this afternoon: he is a man of Sense, and much reading, but he has a certain wildness in his eyes, which indicates something extraordinary, in his character, which I am told is really the case. He has an extravagant fondness for England, and for everything that is English: he talks sensibly upon diverse subjects, but as I had heard his Character before I saw him, I purposely spoke in the highest terms, of the french Nation and their Country: he never said he was of a different opinion, but he observed that though the beauties of England were not of the same kind, they were very great, and like a true Englishman contrasted, french politeness and outward accomplishments, to English dignity and Sincerity. I did not think it was necessary to contest any point, and therefore humoured him in his Admiration for Britain; in which, however I am very far from joining with him. After dinner I went down with Mr. Tyler, and drank

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tea with my uncle Quincy,¹ and from his house saw the tender, which came lately from Hallifax, to carry back Mr. Nash, and his new bride.

I intended to go as far as Milton this evening, but it was so late when we return'd from my uncle's, that I could not. As we were walking home, I had with Mr. Tyler some very curious conversation, on a subject as curious. We smoked a sociable pipe in the Evening at his office: and there continued it. He was somewhat in a prophetic mood, but I imagine, he will never have occasion to say

Cet oracle, est plus sûr que celui de Calchas [Calchas].²

¹ Norton Quincy (1716–1801), JQA's great-uncle. He was formerly a Boston merchant, but after the death of his wife soon after marriage, he retired to Braintree, where he lived a reclusive life in the Quincy estate. His refusal to seek company and to accept other than minor town offices bothered the Adamses, who, though they were very fond of him, felt that his name and position should have led

him to accept greater responsibilities (L. H. Butterfield, *A Pride of Quincys*, MHS Picturebook, Boston, 1969, [p. 7–8]).

² That is, JQA believed that Tyler would never have absolute conviction that a certain event, presumably marriage to AA2, would take place. The quotation is from Racine's tragedy *Iphigénie* (1674), Act III, scene vii, last line.

28TH.

Doctor Tufts went by in the morning, and took with him, a small trunk for me, to Boston. At about 10 I went for my horse, to Mr. Veasy's. Mr. Tyler went with me. At the meeting house he left me, and I went to Milton. Stopp'd half an hour at Genl: Warren's. Their only son now at home is James: Harry yesterday stopp'd in at my uncle's, on his road to Plymouth. Mrs. Warren has been ill; and is not yet entirely recovered. It was near one afternoon, when I got to Boston. Upon Change I met Dr. Waterhouse; and found him the same man, he was four years, ago, when I was acquainted with him in Holland. Dined at Mr. Foster's: and after Dinner went to Deacon Smith's: as I had not been there, since last Friday morning; and did not know when I came out of the house, that I should not return that day: they all said they thought I had been cast away; and could not find the way to their house. Received a letter from Mr. Brush, with, *le mariage de Figaro*.¹ Went and spent an hour with Dr. Waterhouse, at his lodgings, and at about dusk, cross'd the river, and went to spend this night and to-morrow, with my Cousin Cranch and my

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brother. It was near 8 o'clock before I got to Cambridge. Weather quite cool. A fire very comfortable.

¹ Letter not found; Brush had borrowed JQA's copy of Beaumarchais' play (Eliphalet Brush to JQA, 29 Aug., Adams Papers).

29TH.

Paid a visit this morning to Mr. Tracey, but he was not at home. At about eleven in the morning I received a billet from my Cousin Betsey, telling me I must be in Boston before dinner, as Mr. Peabody, would certainly leave town this afternoon, for Haverhill. That she could not go with me, as we had intended, another woman, having engaged a place in the Chaise. I immediately hastened to Boston; got there just at Dinner time, and was then told, that matters were again alter'd, and that we were not to go till to morrow morning. I was not displeased with this information. Dined with my uncles. After dinner I met Mr. Hughes in the Street, and went and spent an hour with him at his Office. Met Mr. W. Smith in the Street. He has been gone ever since my arrival, on a journey; and return'd last evening. I was lounging about all the afternoon; and spent the Evening, and supp'd at Doctor Welch's. Slept at Uncle Smith's.

30TH.

This morning at 7 o'clock I cross'd Charlestown ferry. At about 8 I got into a Chaise with a Mrs. Webster a lady, that I never saw but who has *de grands talens pour le silence*. We went through Cambridge, but the horse was so restless, that I could not get out to speak to my brother or Cousin. We stopp'd and dined about 16 miles from Haverhill. Had an exceeding good Dinner, and at a very moderate charge, which I have seldom found in my own Country. It was about 6 in the evening when, we got to Haverhill; in the whole day, there was about the value of a quarter of an hour's conversation pass'd between us. How much more agreeable would my journey have been, had I come with My Cousin. I was heartily glad when I got to my Uncle's house.

My Aunt was drinking Tea at Mrs. Payson's, and I went over there with Mr. Shaw. In the Evening I delivered Lucy Cranch's message, with the wedding Cake to Miss Hazen.

Diary of John Quincy Adams

SATURDAY OCTOBER 1ST. 1785.

I have been arguing with myself, whether I had best continue my Journal, or break it off at present. The events for the future will probably be a continual repetition one of the other: and will contain nothing that even I myself may desire to Remember. But I have thought that I shall surely have often observations to make upon diverse subjects, which it may be proper to commit to Paper. And I can again employ the Resource of sketching Characters, which however imperfect, and however unlike they may be, yet will serve in future to remind me of the opinion I shall have formed, of the respective persons. My Journal till now has almost entirely consisted in an account of my peregrinations: with very few reflections or observations. My Plan will now be very different. Little narrative, and the most part of what I write will be observations.

2D.

Attended the meeting forenoon, and afternoon. In the evening I took a walk with Mr. Thaxter. Return'd home early and wrote a Letter to Mr. Tyler.¹ Mr. Shaw had a number of persons to spend the evening with him. Sunday evenings in this Country, the minister of the Parish, commonly has Company. To-morrow Mr. and Mrs. Shaw set out on a Journey for near three weeks.

¹ Letter not found.

3D.

The Weather was so disagreeable in the morning, that my uncle, and Aunt were undetermined whether to set out, or wait till to'morrow, but it cleared up, and at about 10 they went away. I this day began upon my Studies, and found it by no means an agreeable thing to learn grammar by heart. If I only read twice or thrice over a thing that pleases me, I can commonly retain it in my memory: but when there is nothing but words, my head seems determined not to receive them, and I am obliged to beat them into it. But it must be so, and it is quite useless to complain.

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4TH.

I began this day to translate the Eclogues of Virgil.¹ What a difference between this Study, and that of a dry barren greek Grammar. But without sowing the grain there certainly can be no harvest, and there is no Rose, without a thorn. I have been invited to several places, but as yet have had to plead, as an excuse, that my trunks are not come, and I have no Clothes to appear decently in. Although I am much in want of my trunks, yet I should be glad if I could make the excuse serve, longer, than I shall be able to: for I feel every day the desire of forming new Acquaintances, diminishing. I have been for these eight years continually changing my Society: as soon as I have been able to distinguish good Characters from bad, and have obtained any friends, I could have any Confidence in, I have been obliged to leave them, probably never to see them more. My heart instead of growing callous by a frequent repetition of the same pain, seem'd to feel every seperation more than, any of the former ones. I am really weary of this wandering, strolling kind of Life, and now I wish to form few new acquaintances, have few friends, but such as I may

Grapple to my heart with hooks of steel.²

¹ JQA's translation of Virgil's Eclogues, mentioned here, is undoubtedly the undated MS, M/JQA/43 (Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 238), which contains only the first four eclogues. Two years earlier he had copied all ten of the eclogues in Latin, each (except the last) followed by Dryden's English translation (4 vols., London, 1782, at MQA). The Latin text used here is uncertain; JQA had bought the Brindley edition, London, 1744 (at MQA),

in Paris on 11 March 1785, but there were at least two other editions of Virgil's works previously purchased by JQA, now also at MQA, which may have been in his possession at this time ([Christian Lotter], Inventory of JQA's books, 6 Nov. 1784, Adams Papers).

² "Grapple them unto thy soul with hoops of steel," *Hamlet*, Act I, scene iii, line 63.

5TH.

Mr. Thaxter came and dined with us, to day, the first time he has been to see us, since Mr. Shaw went away. In the evening Miss Nancy had Company to Visit her. Mr. W. Osgood, who is said to be her very humble Servant, and something like a Mr. Hickman, to a Miss Howe.¹ Mr. Ca[leb] Blodget, who bears the same title, but if fame be true, with still less Success. I am afraid she either treats her admirers too well or too ill. Miss B. Duncan, Mr. Thaxter's reputed flame, she is in my opinion the greatest

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beauty in Haverhill: at least of the Ladies I have seen. Her hair alone is sufficient to justify the admiration of the ancients for golden locks. Her face is very pretty, and her eye sparkles with Vivacity, and good nature, without that wildness which indicates want of thought. She is as Fielding says, too tall for a pretty woman, and too short for a fine Woman: that is no one can wish her an inch taller or an inch lower. Her shape, is inferior to none I ever saw, and her taste in dress is elegant, with the utmost simplicity. If her mind is equal to her Person, I hope she is destined, to complete the happiness of a Person for whom I have the greatest Esteem and Affection. Her Sister Peggy was here too this evening, and Miss Debby Perkins, of whom I shall speak all in good time.

¹ Hickman and Howe are characters in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*.

6TH.

Was invited to Drink tea at Judge Sargeants.¹ But was obliged still to plead the excuse I have already mentioned. I say obliged, because, this is one of the families I would wish to be acquainted with the most. My Brother was gone all the afternoon after nuts. Just before dark I went out with the gun, for half an hour, but saw no game. Miss Nancy Spent part of the Evening at Judge Sargeants. The judge himself is now absent riding the Circuits, and is so more than 6 months in 12, but he is expected home soon. He has two Sons and five Daughters, One only of whom I have seen: her name is Tabitha. Quite a patriarchal name; and a Lady that pleases me mightily. She is uncommonly tall, for a woman, but well proportioned; her countenance is rather agreeable than handsome, and it has an appearance of prudence, and solidity, which I wish I could perceive in all the other young Ladies here. She behaves with a propriety which I think might serve as an example to others.

¹ Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, justice of the Supreme Judicial Court (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 12:574-580).

7TH.

Last Evening Betsey Cranch arrived, and came this morning to see us. She came with Mr. Ben Blodget, the youngest of that family. She is to live at Mr. White's, at least a great part of the

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time she will stay in Haverhill. I cannot help wishing she was to spend more of the time in this House, for several Reasons.

I went down and spent an hour with Mr. Thaxter at his Office; He told me he thought B. Duncan, the girl of the most Reason, and good Sense in Haverhill: this was enough for a friend but not sufficient for a Lover. He spoke of several other girls in this Place, but not with the most favourable partiality. Dined at home, Miss Perkins favoured us with her Company. She is about as tall as Miss Duncan, and her shape is nearly as fine. Her face is perhaps as pretty, and her hair is more adapted to the taste of mankind at this day: but there is something in the other Lady's Eye, that window of the Soul, which must I think determine the generality of mankind in her favour. Miss Perkins, appears very young; I doubt whether she is yet seventeen: And she shows all the levity which commonly distinguishes girls at that time of Life. I would call her a Romp, but her pretty face forbids me to; I would say that she has too much of

The loud laugh, that speaks the vacant mind.¹

but, a pair of dangerous eyes, threaten me with Revenge, if I dare be guilty of such a crime.

¹ Oliver Goldsmith, "The Deserted Village" [line 122] (*Poems, Plays and Essays . . .*, Boston, 1854, p. 90).

8TH.

Mr. Thaxter spent half an hour with us in the forenoon; after dinner my Brother and myself went gunning, from 3 o'clock till dark. The only game to be found here, are Larks and Robins, and black birds: there were great numbers of them. We brought home 17 and should probably have had many more, had I been as good a marksman as my brother. At length the long expected trunks are come; and Mr. Peabody, to whose care they were adrest, says they have been here ever since, Tuesday, but he has not been able to find them out; I believe the plain fact is, he forgot to leave any body, to deliver them, in Case, they came, while he was at Boston, and since his return has not thought of them till now. I am however very glad to have them at last safe. One of the trunks was wet in the bottom: and the clothes in it were somewhat moist.

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10TH.¹

At about 12 o'clock, I went down to Mr. Thaxter's Office. And soon after I went with him, and paid a visit to Judge Sargeant, who return'd last Friday. He and his Lady were, both of them very polite: and invited me to come often to their house. Mrs. Sargeant,² has in her countenance, all that placid mildness, which so much becomes a Lady at that time of Life. If I mistake not, I also perceived in it, a small degree of Melancholy, which always strikes me, and makes a person more interesting to me. Dined at home. Miss Nancy spent the afternoon and Evening out, as indeed she always does. I intended to have gone down to Master White's; but a thunder shower came up a little before dark, and prevented me. It lasted about two hours, and the lightning was exceeding sharp, though, the Thunder was not hard. Mr. Ben Blodget came home with Nancy, but staid only a few minutes. I am apt to believe he is another admirer of her Charms, and I tell her she has the gantlet to run through that family. Indeed she seems to have ingrossed the attentions of almost every youth in Haverhill. The girl has surely something bewitching in her, for she treats them all very ill.

¹ In the MS, "10th" appears to be marked over "9th"; JQA's letter to AA2, 1-22 Oct. (Adams Papers), under the part written on 12 Oct., confirms the former date.

² Mary Pickering Leavitt Sargeant, sister of Timothy Pickering, who was later

secretary of state, and mother of Mrs. Sarah Leavitt White Payson, also of Haverhill (Harrison Ellery and Charles Pickering Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy: Being An Account of the . . . Pickering Family of Salem, Mass. . . .*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1897, 1:112-118, 133).

11TH.

The weather begins to grow Cold: and the winter is advancing with hasty strides. In the afternoon I went down to Mr. White's, but they were all gone out: Went and spent half an hour at Mr. Blodget's, then return'd home. I accompanied the inseparables Nancy, and Debby, to Judge Sargeants, where we remain'd all the evening. Those two girls in particular, ate such a quantity of peaches, as astonished me. I should not have thought that five persons could devour so many in one Evening. From thence we went to see Miss Perkins home, and after staying there a quarter of an hour, retired to our Respective Stations. Mr. Osgood accompanied Miss Nancy home, and I Miss T. Sargeant, who spends a great part of her time with Mrs. Payson her Sister, who

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is in poor Health. I expect to hear to morrow that Miss Nancy cannot leave her Chamber. Oh! Prudence, what a charming virtue art thou! But how few are so happy as to possess thee!

12TH.

There were not those effects which I expected from last Night's frolic. Though Miss Nancy was not perfectly well to day. In the afternoon I went with her, down as far as Mr. Duncan's, left her there, and went myself down to Mr. White's. They all complain'd of my not having been more to see them since I arrived here. They expect their Son¹ home to-morrow. They have some thoughts of his going to London, in the first vessel, that sails; if he should be able to obtain Leave from the government of the College. The young Ladies are learning to play upon the harpsichord, and play'd a number of tunes. This family is an exceeding agreeable one; Mrs. White appears to be exceedingly fond of her family, and to possess those virtues which in this Country are most peculiarly requisite, but which our young Ladies seem too fond of shaking off. In short I think our matrons in general, must strike an impartial person, in a more amiable light than most of our maiden toasts. A warm affection for her family, and an humane and benevolent heart for the rest of the world, are in my opinion a woman's greatest ornaments. Miss Peggy is about 20 years old, and is called a Beauty. Her face has a great deal of Dignity, perhaps a little Severity in it; but when adorn'd with a smile is extremely pleasant. Last Winter, she was in a very unfortunate State of mind: a melancholy seiz'd her, which greatly distress'd her Parents; but she recovered in the Spring, and has since that time enjoyed a most uncommon flow of Spirits. When a scale is weigh'd down on one side, it is extremely difficult to lighten it immediately just as much as is necessary to make the balance just; the danger is that the other side, should in its turn weigh down. Her brother Leonard is my Cousin Cranch's Chamber mate at College: and has studied with him these three years.

¹ Leonard White, who became one of JQA's most intimate friends in Haverhill and later at Cambridge, where they were classmates. White held numerous public offices in Haverhill throughout his life and served a term as representative in the

state legislature in 1809 and as a member of the congress, 1811-1813. After his return from Washington, he became cashier of the Merrimack Bank of Haverhill from 1814 to 1836 (*Essex Antiquarian*, 11:37 [Jan. 1907]; *Biog. Dir. Cong.*).

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13TH.

Miss Nancy, My Brother and myself dined with Mr. Dodge, to day: Mr. Thaxter was there. He went two or three days ago to Newbury and return'd last night. Mr. Dodge is a person of extensive reading, and is fond of enquiring, which is always very agreeable to a traveller. In the afternoon I went with Mr. Thaxter to Mr. Osgood's¹ Store, and afterwards to his own office. We return'd and drank tea at Mr. Dodge's: after that return'd home: Miss Hazen spent the Evening out. Cold weather.

¹ Isaac Osgood, a Haverhill merchant in West Indian goods and the London trade (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11:472-473).

14TH.

Dined this day at Judge Sargeants. Mr. Payson, his Son in Law, Mr. Thaxter, and my brother were there. The judge will set out to-morrow, to ride the Circuit again; the manner in which three quarters of his time are taken up. Spent an hour with Mr. Thaxter at his office, and he then went with me to our House, where we found a number of Ladies at tea. They soon after went away: as there were a number of Ladies and no gentlemen, I offer'd to wait upon two of the Ladies, and had before the end of the evening reason to repent for my Complaisance. We first, all went down to Mr. Blodget's, and after staying there about a quarter of an hour, to Mr. Bartlets. We were there, 14 or 15 persons in a small Room, gazing at one another, and making I think as silly a figure, as was necessary. There we sat two long hours, and I was weary'd to Death. However for one Comfort, I had a little dish of Scandal with Betsey Cranch, who was as much fatigued as I. At length we all return'd to our Respective homes; for which I was not a Little thankful.

15TH.

We had this day, two young Gentlemen, to dine with us. Mr. Saml. Brooks from the Academy, at Exeter, where they have at present a vacation for three weeks; and Sam: Walker, my brother Charles's Chum, at College: their vacancy will not begin till next Wednesday, but he has obtained leave to come home already. Leonard White too, was here in the afternoon. He came home on Wednesday, returned on Thursday to Boston, and came

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back last Evening. The Government of the University, would not give him leave of absence, so that he will not go to England at present. We had this afternoon some of the most extraordinary weather, I remember ever to have known. At about 3 o'clock afternoon, the Clouds look'd uncommonly yellow, and it grew so dark, that I could with difficulty read a small print: and although it was quite cold, it began to thunder. It call'd to the memory of most persons, the famous dark day, which happened in 1780,¹ but which was much more remarkable than this. It cleared up however in some measure before Sun set, and the weather in the Evening was not disagreeable.

N.B. Miss Nancy did not go out of the House, once during the whole course of this day.

¹ For accounts of the "dark day," see *Adams Family Correspondence*, 3:355-356, 386-388.

16TH.

We had no minister to day, at our meeting house. Nancy went to the other in the forenoon, and Tommy in the afternoon. I stayd at home all day. Miss Hazen, has been very unwell, for some days past, and had this afternoon, one of her teeth drawn. I wish she could be persuaded to take care of them: The want of proper attention to the teeth, is an universal failing in this Country, and is very hurtful both to the beauty, and the Health of our Ladies.

Mr. Thaxter last night, promised to come, and dine with us to day, but, went over, to meeting at Bradford. I forgot last Sunday to mention, that we had Mr. Moody of Pelham, to preach here, and I attended forenoon, and afternoon. A very sober preacher, who made use of a vast Quantity of Quotations.

17TH.

There happened a very considerable alteration in the weather, during the course of the last Night. Yesterday the weather was uncommonly warm, and has been to day very cold; more like winter than any we have yet had. In the afternoon, Leonard White came up, and waited upon Miss Nancy down to his father's house. I went soon after, and drank tea, there: Mrs. and Miss Williams the professor's Lady and Daughter,¹ were there upon a visit. Miss Williams, is tall and pretty, that is all I can say, of her, after so transient a view: an intimate friend of

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Nancy's: they appear'd both very much pleased to see one another. There was in the Evening considerable Company; who they were is easily guess'd. At eight o'clock I return'd. Miss Hazen spent the remainder of the Evening at Mr. Duncan's.

¹ Jane Kilbourn Williams and Jane, the wife and daughter of Prof. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, 1780-1788 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 15:134-146).

18TH.

This morning I rose about half an hour before the Sun, and walk'd two or three miles before breakfast. Spent half an hour, with Mr. Thaxter at his office. After breakfast went down to Mr. White's and there agreed with them in what manner to go to Newbury. Dined with them, and at about half after two, Mr. J: Duncan,¹ set out with Miss White, I with my Cousin and Leonard, on horse back. We cross'd the ferry about 3 miles off, and at about 5, we got to Newbury; we went to Mr. Dalton's, who was not then at home. We found it exceedingly cold on the road, and both Leonard, and I had forgot our Surtouts, for which we suffer'd, and I dare say this Circumstance, will teach us more prudence another time, more effectually than a sermon would. Mr. Dalton return'd to tea, and we spent the Evening there. His eldest Daughter, Ruth, is the fattest Person of her age I ever saw. Moderately speaking I suppose, her circumference equal to her height, and she is not short. She is but little turn'd of 18 years. Mr. Dalton has three other Daughters, one of whom is unwell. I have not for a long while seen a family, that has struck me so agreeably, as this. Mr. Dalton, was my father's classmate at College, and has been his friend ever since.² He is universally affable and polite, and unites to an high degree the gentleman with the scholar. His [wife] has something in her Countenance, which would authorize any one at first sight, to pronounce, her amiable and benovelent.

Of manners gentle, and affections mild.

The Children all seem to inherit, the soft, placid turn of mind which distinguishes both the parents. Who after seeing such a family, as this can relish the idle Pomp and Pageantry of a Court. He who could must have ideas of happiness, very different from mine.

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We all slept, at Mr. Dalton's. Mr. Duncan, Leonard and I in one Chamber.

¹ James Duncan Jr., son of the Haverhill merchant and brother of Betsy (James Duncan Phillips, "James Duncan and Son: Merchants, Capitalists, and Chain Store Operators," *Essex Inst., Hist. Colls.*, 89:51 [Jan. 1953]).

² Tristram Dalton, a Newburyport

merchant and member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1782–1788, later served briefly as a U.S. senator. Dalton and JA corresponded over many years (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:569–578; JA, *Earliest Diary*, p. 67–68).

19TH.

We went out between 9 and 10 this morning, in order to take, a walk, and look at the troops, for this day there happened to be a regimental muster here, and training day for the militia. When we went out we had no idea of being gone more than an hour, but it was near two before we return'd. 10 Companies from Newbury, march'd about two miles out, and met 7 others from Almesbury [Amesbury]. There were in all, I imagine about a thousand men under arms. All the officers and the artillery Company composed of 39 men, were in a dark blue uniform, faced with scarlet: the troops were not in any uniform. They paraded tolerably well, all things consider'd, though it would take I imagine considerable time to make Prussian troops of them. The Coll. Lieutt. Coll. and Adjutant were on white horses. There was none of the officers that appeared so much to advantage as the adjutant, a joiner by trade, named Herriman. Many officers who have from their childhood brought up in regular armies, would not appear more graceful or show more dignity at a parade, than this person did. Some men whatever their Station in Life may be, have a natural grace and elegance, which never leave them; others though possess'd of the highest advantages, and train'd from their Infancy to the Science of politeness, can never acquire that easy agreeable manner which has so great a tendency:

To make men happy and to keep them so.¹

When the two parties had join'd after a short pause, they march'd all together back into the town, and we left them. We dined at Mr. Dalton's, but he was so unwell, that he could not favour us with his Company. He caught yesterday a bad cold, at New town, a seat which he owns, about half way between this and Haverhill. Mr. Symmes² dined with us, a young Gentleman,

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whose manners are very easy and agreeable. At about 4. we proceeded in the order we went yesterday, to return home; we got to Mr. White's house, just before dark. I came from the ferry on horseback. Spent the Evening very agreeably, there, and return'd home, at about 9 o'clock. Found Mr. Thaxter there, but he soon after went away.

¹ Horace, *Epistles*, Bk. I, Ep. vi, line 2 (*Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, transl. Fairclough, p. 286, 287).

² William Symmes, an Andover lawyer and son of Rev. William Symmes (John

Adams Vinton, *The Symmes Memorial. A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Zechariah Symmes . . . with a Genealogy and Brief Memoirs of Some of His Descendants . . .*, Boston, 1873, p. 59-61).

20TH.

Spent the whole day at home. Miss Nancy spent the afternoon and evening at Mr. Duncan's. In the beginning of the Evening my uncle and Aunt arrived, although they were not expected before to-morrow. I am rejoiced at it, for the time they have been gone has appeared long to me, and somewhat dull. My Aunt brought me Letters from London, as two vessels have arrived. I have two from my Mother, which excite my curiosity to an high degree;¹ and it cannot be gratified without those from my Sister, which I hope will come by the Post to morrow. I know not, that I was ever so impatient, and I cannot Reason myself out of it.

¹ AA to JQA, 11, 23 Aug.; also received was one from William Vans Murray to JQA, 2 Aug., all in Adams Papers (JQA to AA2, 1-22 Oct., Adams Papers). JQA knew some decision had been made about Royall Tyler, but not yet exactly what. In the first of AA's letters to her son, she wrote that he would be surprised by the contents of some of the letters arriving in packets, but added that "at the same time you will approve the wise conduct of the writer [AA2] who has shewn a firmness of

mind and prudence which do *her* honour. Be Silent! We are all rejoiced because it came of her own accord free and unsolicited from her, and was the result I believe of many Months anxiety as you were witness." For AA2's letter, which was being concluded as AA wrote, see entry for 29 Oct. (below). AA2 wrote a one-sentence letter to Tyler breaking the engagement, returning his miniature and letters, and asking that he give hers to Richard Cranch (JA, *Earliest Diary*, p. 27).

21ST.

Stormy weather all day. It is a very lucky circumstance, that Mr. and Mrs. Shaw return'd yesterday, as they would have had a very disagreeable time to day. In the morning I went down to Mr. White's with the Chaise, for my Cousin, who came to spend the day, and will not return this Night, as the Storm rather increases than otherwise.

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22D.

The weather has been all day, pretty much the same as it was yesterday, an high wind, with incessant rain. It begins however this evening to abate in some measure. My Cousin was troubled very much all this afternoon, with the Head-ache a Complaint she is much subject [to]. I have been struck with the contrast between the two young Ladies that are now under this Roof. *Eliza*, is about 21. Her complexion is dark, and her face, though not beautiful, has a sweetness, and benign candour in it, which my gothic taste prefers vastly, to that insipid thing called beauty. Her eye expresses the exquisite Sensibility of her heart. Perhaps this is too great for her own happiness, but although I think that feeling so keenly for the distress of others, may be productive of pains without which a person would be happier, yet I believe that this quality, (especially in a Lady) is the most amiable of all those in the human heart. Her imagination has much vivacity, but has not been spoilt by unmeaning novels, or immoral plays. She is fond of reading, but of that reading which tends to cultivate, and improve, as well as to entertain and delight the mind, and she knows how to improve what she reads. Her affability and good nature, endear her to those who are acquainted with her, and must always be pleasing to a Stranger. This would be thought a panegyric, not a Character, by any person unacquainted with her, but I shall not be accused of partiality by those, who have an opportunity of examining into the truth of it.

Nancy, is only 17. She had the misfortune of losing her Father, while she was very young indeed. She is not a regular beauty, but has one of the most expressive Countenances, I have ever seen; her shape is uncommonly fine, and her eye seems to have magic in it. She boarded, for a considerable time with Mrs. Sheaffe in Boston, and there, had a great number of admirers, when she was too young to distinguish between the sincere friend, and the pretended Lover. She acquired unawares a fondness for being admired, which I am mistaken if she has entirely thrown off. By seeing a great deal of Company, she has been brought to believe she cannot be contented at home, and to desire to shine in a large circle. She asserts in the most positive manner that her heart is entirely free from any engagement, yet she suffers the world to suppose, and to publish that she is upon the point of being connected with a gentleman in this place, and I am

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perswaded it would give her pain, was he to pay his addresses to any other Lady. Yet her heart is kind, tender and benevolent; and was she sensible of the pain she causes, she would be the first to condemn herself. She will listen with attention to advice, and hear her conduct censur'd without being offended. With a large share of wit, she has an inexhaustible fund of good Nature; she has an uncommon flow of Spirits, but can be properly serious if an occasion requires. She reads much, but I fear not with so much advantage, as she would, had she not been drawn so young into the stream of Dissipation. When time shall convince her, of those errors, which she has unavoidably fallen into, she will I am perswaded free herself from them, and then she will be an honour and an ornament to her sex.

23D.

Attended the meeting forenoon, and afternoon. After tea, I went down with my Cousin to Mr. White's. We met Leonard at the door; he was just coming up to my uncle's, but went back when we got there. Staid but a few minutes there, and when I return'd found Mr. Thaxter and Mr. Redington there: the Storm subsided in the Course of the last night, but the weather to day has been hazy, and disagreeable. I never saw in Europe, saw it Storm and reign 48 hours at a time, with incessant violence. It is however not uncommon in this Country: especially at this Season of the year.

The river is exceeding high, and will probably rise much higher still, in the Course of a day or two. There was yesterday a man belonging to this town, drown'd between here and Newbury.

24TH.

The river has risen higher than was ever known, Insomuch that the great Street is in many places full of water. I have been twice down to day to see it. The Current is very swift, and wafts down a greater number of stumps of trees, and logs of wood. There are a number of boats continually going out, and bringing back this wood. If the piece is not mark'd it is entirely the perquisite of the Person who gets it. If there is a mark on it, only one quarter belongs to the finder. Many People up in the Country send down trees in this manner, to have boards made here. One

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quarter is deducted for the recoverer of the log, and one quarter for the miller who saws it so that one half remains for the original possessor. This is the cheapest way of sending, the trees, but great numbers, pass by without being caught, and are carried out to sea. This afternoon, there was another man drown'd near here.

Went and spent an hour at Mr. White's. The more I see of this family the more I am pleased with it. It would inspire a Courtier with fondness for domestic happiness. They are at present uneasy because Mrs. White is very unwell: we did not see her. We left Betsey and Peggy Duncan there and Mr. Thaxter, at about 7 and return'd home. The Weather has been chilly the greatest part of the day, but grew very warm in the Evening. At about 11. at night there was a thunder shower, with a great deal of hail, but the thunder was not heavy.

25TH.

The river begins at length to fall, but rose, continually, till this morning; and was much higher than it ever was before. A shop on the banks, was yesterday carried off, run a foul, of a vessel on the stocks, and dismounted her. Much damage has been done by this uncommon freshet.

I this day concluded the greek Grammar, for which I am heartily thankful. I shall immediately begin upon the Greek testament.

This afternoon, Lucy, and Billy Cranch, and my brother Charles, arrived here. There is a vacancy now at the University, for a fortnight, and my brother will spend the remainder of it here. My Cousins stopp'd at Mr. White's, and I went down there to meet them. We soon return'd back all together, and spent the evening. I had not been with both my brothers together, these six years. The meeting was a very happy one; it made me wish for another. Miss Nancy went out yesterday morning to spend the week.

26TH.

I was greatly disappointed to find, that neither of my Cousins nor my brother had any Letters for me from Europe. Surely my Sister did not let both opportunities slip. I began to day upon the

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Testament but shall not I fear proceed far this week. Company in the afternoon to drink tea.

27TH.

This morning Miss Nancy return'd, upon hearing Lucy Cranch, was here, as they are very intimate together; not from a similarity of character however, for Lucy, has still more gravity and seriousness in her disposition, than her Sister. Every person I believe has, in some measure, a double Character; the one implanted by nature, and the other form'd by education. A Character naturally vicious, may by proper training, be led in the right path, and a mind originally excellent, may be injured, by an erroneous method of raising it. How fortunate are those, who enjoy both the blessings! and I know of nobody who has them to a greater degree, than both of my Cousins. They have been taught to admire, and to know, what is useful, and durable, and not to spend three quarters of their time thinking, how they shall do, to be stared at the fourth. Mr. Thaxter and Leonard White dined with us; in the afternoon, Mr. Shaw, and the Ladies went down and drank tea at Doctor Saltonstall's. We went out on a gunning party, but had not, any great success. Spent part of the evening at Mr. White's, and part, at Mr. Duncan's, where I had not yet been. Felt very dull all the evening, owing to a number of circumstances. Mr. Duncan supped here.

28TH.

This morning My two Cousins left us, to return to Braintree, at about 9. Nancy, and Cousin Betsey, went down to Mr. White's; So that our house was very considerably thinn'd. Mrs. Shaw spent the afternoon out. In the Evening Charles and myself went and stayd an hour at Mr. Duncan's. Found Mr. Thaxter there. The weather is uncommonly mild for the Season; I was obliged to make a fire last Fall, in France, by the middle of this month, and I have, not as yet felt the necessity of one, here, although the Season is further advanced and the winters are colder, than there.

29TH.

I began to give over all hopes of receiving any Letters from my Sister by the last Vessels, but this morning while we were at

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Breakfast A large packet came in from Boston; inclosing me a very long Letter, with the account untill the 15th. of August. The pleasure I received was enhanced, by having it when it was unexpected. But it has not satisfied me, upon one subject, which gives me still a great deal of anxiety. Doubts, hopes, and fears alternately rise in my Breast, and I know not what to Conclude. The subject is of great importance to me, as it regards the happiness of a Sister, for whom I have the tenderest and sincerest affection.¹ Between 12 and 1 I went down to Mr. White's, and read my Letter to the Ladies. Stay'd and dined there. Spent part of the afternoon with Mr. Thaxter: he gave me a piece of information which surprised me very much, but which I sincerely hope to be true. Nancy came home, this Evening. I have been endeavouring for some time past, to climb, up some steps upon the hill of the muses but, Boileau says with great truth

C'est en vain qu'au Parnasse un téméraire auteur
Pense de l'art des vers atteindre la hauteur
S'il n'a reçu du ciel, l'influence secrete,
Si son astre en naissant ne l'a formé Poete.²

The hill I fear is by far too slippery for me.

¹ This is AA2's 32-page letter dated 4 July–11 Aug. (Adams Papers), but it contains no mention of her breaking the engagement with Royall Tyler.

² Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, "L'Art poétique," from *Oeuvres choisies*, 2 vols.,

Paris, 1777, 2:[3], a copy of which is at MQA with JQA's bookplate and MS signature with the date 1781. JQA quotes the first four lines of the first song, line three of which should read: "S'il ne sent point du ciel."

30TH.

Attended the meeting forenoon and afternoon; in the morning Cousin Betsey came, here, and spent the day with us. I return'd with her after tea, and found nobody at home, at Mr. White's. Nancy and Charles went in the afternoon to the other meeting-house. Mr. Smith, after an absence of near two months, return'd home, a day or two since. Mr. Hunt spent the evening here; a gentleman from Boston, who it is said comes to take one of the ladies from Haverhill. Miss Becca White¹ is the person; Common fame, gives to Mr. J: Duncan the title of his rival; But common fame, is so fond of making matches, that there is no knowing how to depend upon it.

Rain in the Evening.

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¹ Rebecca White, daughter of "Squire" Samuel White, married James Duncan Jr. in 1790 (Daniel Appleton White and Annie Frances Richards, *The Descendants of William White, of Haverhill, Mass. . . .*, Boston, 1889, p. 27).

31ST.

Mr. Allen, and Mr. Quarles,¹ two clergymen, dined here to day. In the afternoon Charles went over to Bradford, to visit Walker, his Chum: We spent the Evening, and supp'd at Mr. White's; there were several ladies and gentlemen from Boston there: Charles made it so late before he came from Bradford that he did not go with us. It was about 10. when we return'd home. The Company at Mr. White's propose returning to-morrow to Boston; One of the Ladies appeared very impatient to be gone, and I believe had particular Reasons, for wishing it.

The Weather is still very mild for the Season. I do not find a fire necessary as yet.

¹ Jonathan Allen was minister at Bradford, Mass.; probably Francis Quarles, minister at Hamilton, Mass. (MH-Ar:Quinquennial File; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1904*, Providence, R.I., 1905).

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 1ST. 1785.

Walker came over, and dined here to day. In the afternoon all the family, except my brother Tom, and myself went to Mr. Redington's. They pressed me to go too, but I wish to go as little into Company, while I am here as possible. An hundred things which I can neither foresee, nor prevent, draw me away from my studies and delay them: but where I can help it, I will not suffer them to be interrupted. Time, is too precious a thing to be trifled with, and I have already lost but too much.

This morning Mr. Thaxter set out, for Salem, where the Court is now setting: he will not return before next Saturday.

Betsey Cranch spent the day with us.

2D.

Young Mr. Symmes lodged here last Night. This morning before breakfast My Brother Charles left us, for Cambridge, as the fall vacancy ends to day. He went with Leonard White, and Walker, and several other Gentlemen and Ladies who were going to Boston. I have lost in Leonard and Charles two good friends who in my leisure hours were great sources of pleasure

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to me; but the separation from them is necessary, and from that I must derive my Consolation. Finished the first chapter of John. I hope I shall not continue to proceed as slowly as I have done; and I believe it is in Learning Languages, as the french proverb says, *il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte*. Cloudy, chilly weather all day; in the Evening it rain'd considerably. Very stormy in the Night.

3D.

Mr. Shaw went to the lecture of a neighbouring brother, and dined out; I was pretty close, all day, and did not go out of the house. Events cannot be interesting, when one is in this Situation, and few Reflections can be made, by one entirely employ'd in acquiring those of others.

I feel a degree of Melancholy which may be owing to my having been so much confined these three or four days, but I rather imagine proceeds from another Cause. When our Reason is at variance with our heart, the mind cannot be in a pleasing State: I have heretofore more than once, been obliged to exert all my Resolution, to keep myself free from a Passion, which I could not indulge, and which would have made me miserable had I not overcome it. I have escaped till now more perhaps owing to my good Fortune, than to my own firmness, and now again, I am put to a trial. I have still more Reason, than I ever had, to repress my feelings; but I am also perswaded, that I never was in greater danger; one Circumstance there is, which gives me hopes; and if it takes place, will put an end to my danger and my fears.

4TH.

Reading over the Salem paper to day, I found an account of the death, and funeral of Mr. Hardy, a delegate in Congress from the State of Virginia, a gentleman, from whom I received the politest treatment while I was in New York, but what is of Consequence, a firm and steady friend to his Country, a mild Republican, and a worthy man. In the evening Mr. Thaxter return'd from Salem, where he heard of the decease of my aunt Tufts, whose excellent Qualities endeared her, to her relations and to all her acquaintance: The continual occasion which every person has to reflect upon the slender thread of life, has drawn from great and ingenious minds every observation, that can be made respecting mor-

tality: happy is it in this awful separation from those that are near to us, when we have only to grieve for our own sakes. What a source of Consolation in these Circumstances, is the persuasion, that our friends, have gained in the Change, an advantage incomparably greater than our loss. Ah! what can the reflections of an Atheist be, at the death of a dear friend; (if a mind of that cast is capable of friendship) what Idea, can support him: the mind which contributed once so greatly to his happiness; he supposes to be annihilated with the body, it animated, and he can derive no soothing thoughts from resignation to a Providence the existence of which he denies. Just Heaven! whatever misfortunes it may be my lot to be afflicted with hereafter, grant, that the frenzy of infidelity, may never be of the number! Mrs. Tufts died on Sunday the 30th. of last month. A few days before, when not only she herself, but all those around her were in hourly expectation of her dissolution, her only Son¹ to whom she has always been the tenderest, the most affectionate of mothers set off on a journey: and has nature given to any human hearts, the coldness, and the hardness of marble, who, that is blest with the smallest degree of Sensibility, would not shudder at the idea, of abandoning a dying parent, was it for the dominion of the world? Heaven, be praised! I know only this Character in this family, that is deprived, of every amiable virtue of the heart.

Mr. Hardy died October 17th. and in him these States have lost, a patriot, from whose virtues, they would I doubt not, have derived great advantages, had the all wise ruler of Events, thought proper to continue him longer in the world. The respect shown him, after his death by the august body, of which he was a member, proves how much he was esteemed and beloved by them.

¹ Cotton Tufts Jr. (1757–1833), AA's cousin and longtime postmaster of Weymouth, whom JQA later described as "a man who has lived nearly to the age of four score; having had a liberal education, but never emerged from obscurity and retirement" (JQA, *Diary*, 6 May 1833).

5TH.

Eliza Spent the day with us. I accompanied her home, in the Evening, and spent half an hour at Mr. White's. Miss Betsey Duncan, return'd this Evening from Boston, and brought me a Letter from my Cousin Cranch.¹ He attended Mrs. Tufts's funeral last Tuesday, and very justly admires the Doctor's Behav-

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iour upon the occasion: it was that of a Christian, and of a Philosopher. He had always lived in an uninterrupted union with his Lady; and though fully Sensible of his loss, he did not show it, by tears, or by any outward manifestation. He was not dressed in black, considering a mourning suit but as *the trappings and the suits of woe*.²

¹ Not found.

² *Hamlet*, Act I, scene ii, line 86.

6TH.

Attended the meeting, forenoon, and afternoon. Went home with my Cousin. Was employ'd all the Evening, in writing to my Sister.¹

The Weather somewhat chilly.

¹ Letter not found; undoubtedly the same to which he refers on 8 Nov. (below).

7TH.

Mr. Thaxter went again this morning to Newbury, to attend the trial of a number of Pirates, lately taken.¹ I wish'd much to go with him, on that account, and for several other Reasons; but, I was afraid of interrupting my Studies, which at this Time, cannot suffer any loss of time; and they must be attended to, before every thing else. N. B. Guardian N: 49.²

¹ Several men who had taken possession of the schooner *Amity* off the Essex co. coast in mid-August were captured and indicted a month later. In mid-November two were convicted of robbery and felony; three were declared not guilty (*Massachusetts Spy*, 8, 22 Sept., 17, 24 Nov.).

² An essay on the "natural" and "fantastical" "pleasures which constitute human happiness." JQA may have used the two-volume edition of *The Guardian*, London, 1745, 1:213-217, listed among his books in 1784 and now at MQA ([Christian Lotter], Inventory of JQA's books, 6 Nov. 1784, Adams Papers).

8TH.

My Aunt spent the afternoon at Mr. White's. I was not outside of the gate once. Closed my Letter to my Sister N: 8.¹ But I shall not be able to send it before next Week.

¹ Letter not found. Extant letters to his sister suggest that his reference here is misnumbered and might have been letter thirteen. Letter eight was dated 29 Aug.-7 Sept. (Adams Papers), and JQA had sent

at least four other letters to AA2 by this time. For another inexplicable instance of misnumbering, see entry for 28 Nov. (below).

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9TH.

Drank tea at Mrs. West's,¹ where our ladies spent the afternoon. I afterwards went home with Eliza; went in to Mr. White's. Mr. and Mrs. Duncan² were there. This Lady, in Consequence, of a fit of sickness, has for these two or three months been deprived of her Reason: a little before 7 she went home with her husband; about half an hour after, Mr. J Duncan, came in, and enquired if she was there: we were immediately alarmed, and I went up with Miss Peggy, to Mr. Duncan's. The whole neighbourhood was stirring in a short time, and she has been fruitlessly search'd after, for three hours. The Circumstances of her disappearing, are very singular; Mr. Duncan had not been 2 minutes from her, when she was first miss'd, and she went off without any Cloak. It is generally feared that she went to the River with the intention to put an end to her existence; as she has already attempted it twice. The hopes conceived are but small: the whole family, are deeply affected, and in a State of Suspense, more dreadful than a certainty of the worst could be: Mrs. White, who is the Lady's Sister, is in great distress. Peggy fears the worst, and is prepared for it. If she is gone, said she to me, as we were going up the hill, there is a god, who rules all with infinite Wisdom; we must hope for the best, and submit to whatever he may inflict upon us. Such Reflections, are often made by persons when their passions are cool, but such philosophical and Christian resignation is not common in so young a mind, when it receives a sudden, and violent shock like this. I admired it exceedingly.

¹ Possibly Joanna Kast, wife of Henry West, a Haverhill merchant (Haverhill, *Vital Records*; Essex Inst., *Hist. Colls.*, 71:91-92 [Jan. 1935]).

² Elizabeth Leonard Duncan was the second wife of James Sr. and stepmother

of the Duncan children (James Duncan Phillips, "James Duncan and Son: Merchants, Capitalists and Chain Store Operators," Essex Inst., *Hist. Colls.*, 89:51 [Jan. 1953]).

10TH.

My Uncle, went out, early this morning, and when he return'd put an end to our hopes with Respects to Mrs. Duncan, and realized our fears. She was found dead, in the River, near the shore, in a place where there is not more than two foot of water. In this distressing Calamity, it is in some measure a consoling circumstance that she was found: the family must necessarily have suf-

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ferred beyond measure, had she never been heard of after she disappeared. I never felt my Spirits so depress'd, as they have been all this day. A Sentiment of Humanity in general, always makes me feel, for a disaster of this sort, but I was never before witness to one, when my attachment to an Amiable family in particular, has heightened the natural feelings to such a degree.

The God, who disposes every thing, for the best, when he bereaves an human creature thus of its Reason, does it perhaps with a view to make the rest sufficiently sensible of the inestimable blessing he has bestow'd upon them. For such is the mind of man, that it can never be grateful for the gifts it possesses, unless it sees the dreadful Consequences attending the want of them; and it is adversity that makes the good man.

The ways of Heaven, are dark and intricate,
Puzzled in mazes, and perplex'd with errors.

My Aunt, and Nancy spent the day at Mr. Duncan's. Mrs. Shaw, was greatly affected, but her conduct proved, this was not the first time, her Sensibility, had been thus called forth. Nancy was distress'd to a great degree: she could not contain her grief; it has heightened my opinion of her: the heart that feels so keenly for other's woes, may be led into errors, but never can be unamiable.

Mr. Thaxter return'd to day from Salem. He is deeply interested in this misfortune; and bears it with the fortitude, for which he is distinguished, and which he has often, been called upon to exert.

He left Salem this morning, and the jury upon the affair, had not then given their Verdict. He seems to be of opinion that they were not guilty of Piracy; but thinks it probable they will be condemned.

IITH.

Attended Mrs. Duncan's funeral, in the afternoon: Mr. Smith made a prayer, very proper and adapted to the Circumstances. There were as I imagine, about 40 couple attending. As we return'd, several couple went out of the row as they came to their Respective homes. I was with my Cousin, and went in to Mr. White's; where I spent a couple of hours. Mrs. McKinstry,¹ a Sister of Mrs. Duncan, was there: and it was a solemn, mournful

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time with them. Most of the Company returned to Mr. Duncan's house. My Aunt spent the evening with Mrs. Payson.

¹ Mrs. Priscilla Leonard McKinstry, widow of loyalist Dr. William McKinstry, of Taunton, was the sister of both Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan and Sarah LeBaron White, the second wife of John White Sr., of Haverhill (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard*

Graduates, 6:326; William Willis, "Genealogy of the McKinstry Family, With A Preliminary Essay on the Scotch-Irish Immigrations to America," *NEHGR*, 12:325-326 [Oct. 1858]).

12TH.

All day at home. Miss Nancy came in the Evening, but did not stay more than half an hour: she has been since Thursday morning, at Mr. Duncan's, and proposes staying there, all next Week. Though I cannot conceal from myself, that this gives me pain at present, yet I can sincerely say, I wish she would in this manner keep away, week after week from this house, untill I leave it: In the Evening, I was reminded, of the great disadvantages, a youth must labour under, who suffers himself to be subdued by the tender passion. I needed not the Caution; and shew that I was fully sensible of it. I consider it the greatest misfortune; that can befall a young man to be in Love. Does not Reason alone suffice to show that, when the Passions are high and the blood is warm, it is impossible to make a Choice, with the prudence necessary upon such an occasion. Do we not see daily men, of great Sense and experience, and at an age when discretion should guide all their actions, fall into fatal errors, in this case, how much more exposed then, is a person incapable of Reflection, and led on by passion. May it be my lot, at least for ten years to come, never to have my heart exclusively possessed by any individual of the other sex. A man courting appears to me at any time of life, much below his natural dignity; but in a youth it is exceedingly absurd and ridiculous.

13TH.

The late misfortune, was the subject of our afternoon sermon. Nobody from the family was present, as they attend Mr. Smith's meeting. My Cousin, was at ours the latter part of the day, and dined with us. Mr. Redington, spent part of the Evening, here. Mr. Shaw was called out, upon two occasions, very different from one another. To attend three persons in one family, at the point of death, and to marry a couple: thus it is, while one part of

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the world, are crumbling to dust, others, are feasting and rejoicing and hastening to the same situation.

14TH.

I pass'd half an hour before dinner at Mr. Thaxters office: at home all the rest of the day, with the same scene perpetually renew'd: A person that passes the days in study and the nights in sleep knows little of variety. The rules of the house, are exceedingly regular, and must be strictly attended to. Breakfast at 8. dinner at 1: prayers at 9 and retirement a short time after, are the Laws: and as I think every person ought to pay due respect to the Regulations of the house he is in, I have never been out of this after 10 at night, since I have been, here: but once after 9. Severity in this article, is absolutely necessary in a Clergyman's house: such is the attention every gentleman of that profession, must pay to the prejudices of ignorance, and enthusiasm. In short the discouragement every person, inclined to the study of divinity must meet with in this Country has restrained many of late years from following that line of life, and will lessen the number very greatly in a little Time. The laws exclude them from any civil employment, the Salaries allow'd them are very small, and in many places miserably paid; so that one can have no hopes of gratifying, ambition or prospects of fortune, yet they are subjected to every ill natured reflection, that envy or malice can invent. Every individual seems to think he has the direction, and superintendency of their Conduct. In this land of freedom, they are the only persons that enjoy it not; and they have not like the Roman Vestals, the Satisfaction of having uncommon Respect paid them; as a reward for, all these disagreeable Circumstances. I think proper care ought to be taken, to prevent the Clergy, as a body from growing too rich or too powerful; but I think it both false and unjust policy, to make odious distinctions between them, and other Citizens.

Weather quite cold to day.

15TH.

All day at home. My Uncle, was applied to last Saturday by a man, to do a little jobb for him, as he term'd it, which was to marry him. So he went in the afternoon: My Aunt and Eliza went in the Chaise.

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I made in the Evening a few reflections, which I had not time to write down, now, but, must remember to do it some other day. The weather begins to grow cold, and it is probable, we shall have Snow very soon; it is now full time, for there is often snow on the ground here, by the middle of October.

16TH.

Two persons in the town, died in the Course of this day. A young Woman by the name of Bradly, and a Grandson of Dr: Cast, a boy about 11 years old. He was one of my brothers Companions, and died in Consequence, of having leapt from too great an height.

Eliza dined here, and went in the afternoon with my aunt to see Mr. Adams¹ a neighbouring minister. I pass'd the Evening at Mr. White's. There was some Company there: Mrs. White is still somewhat Melancholy. Peggy in as good Spirits as could be expected. Upon the whole it was an agreeable evening. When I got home, I found Mr. Allen, at the house; he will lodge here, this night. Mr. Thaxter went this day to Newbury, and return'd. I saw him at Mr. Duncan's as I came by the house.

¹ Phineas Adams, minister of the Haverhill Third or West Church, 1771-1801 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 15:150-151).

17TH.

The weather was very stormy, all the morning; but began to clear up, at about noon, and in the afternoon it was pleasant. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, attended the funeral of the youth that died yesterday morning; my brother went as bearer: Mr. Thaxter, called, in the afternoon, but made only a short stay; he cannot spare but a few minutes at a time, and it is not to be wondered at. The Salem Paper, mentions a Vessel arrived from London in Boston. I hope for Letters.

18TH.

There was Company lodged here last night, but went early in the forenoon away. Eliza, dined, and passed the afternoon, here. Mr. Shaw attended the funeral of the young woman, lately dead. Several Ladies were here in the afternoon, and Evening.

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19TH.

The whole day at my studies as usual. In the afternoon I read in Watt's Logic,¹ as my Saturday afternoon's, are employ'd in reading English. I began this, last week, and am pretty well pleased with the work, though I have not as yet made any great progress in it. There are a number of observations which were quite new to me, and the most of them indisputable: some few I could not well comprehend although they may be equally clear. In the Evening Mr. Thaxter and Eliza Cranch, paid a short visit. Mr. Thomas² went out with his gun, a very favourite amusement with him. The Post brought me no Letters, last Evening; there came none by the vessel that arrived lately at Boston. Eliza, had a large Packet from her friends in the Town, and was sit quite in a flutter. Nancy was to come home this Evening, but has determined to stay a few days longer.

¹ Isaac Watts, *Logick: Or, The Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry After Truth . . .*, London, 1725. No early editions of this work are in any of the Adams libraries.

² Presumably TBA.

20TH.

We had two sermons to day, upon a text from Proverbs: 19th. Chap: 20:v: Hear counsel and receive instruction, that thou mayest be wise in thy latter end. The several instances of death, that have lately occurred in this town were not passed unnoticed. Two persons, both promising to be useful in the spheres assigned them, had been cut off in the bloom of youth; the divinity, often took from the world in this manner, those whose Characters were universally loved and esteemed, yet suffered others, that were entirely useless, or perhaps the bane of society, to continue. Those impious fools who pretend to disbelieve an overruling providence, considered this as an argument in their favour. But what else was this than supposing, the author of Nature had as contracted views, and ideas, as their's. In truth I have often wondered how it happened, that a being whose mind is so exceedingly weak, that it cannot comprehend why a pebble thrown into the air should fall to the ground, can pretend to raise a doubt, whether there was a being, more wise, more exalted more powerful than himself. Any man will think, it impertinent and absurd in another to pronounce judgment, upon the plainest subject, if he does not understand it: and is it not still more ab-

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surd to deny, what Nature cries aloud in all her works: when we must, all acknowledge, ourselves, entirely ignorant, of the secret springs that keep the machine of the world in play.

Mr. Shaw was absent a great part of the Evening; he was called to marry Dr. Woodbury to Miss Hannah Appleton. My Aunt attended the wedding. After meeting I went to Mr. White's and spent half an hour with them.

21ST.

My Aunt and Eliza, went and took a ride in the afternoon. They drank tea at Judge Sargeant's, and I spent about an hour there. Went home with my Cousin, and stay'd the Evening at Mr. White's. His Lady is very unwell, and has been so a considerable time. She was recovering, when the fatal accident of her Sister happened; and I fear it has tended to occasion a relapse. She is possess'd of great Sensibility, and the disaster, must have been in a peculiar manner weighty to her. Mr. Thaxter came in soon after I did, and at about 8 in the Evening, came home with me, and pass'd half an hour here.

22D.

I have been very steady all day at My Studies, and have at length been able to go through an hundred verses in the Testament. The book is exceeding easy: the only difficulty I find is being obliged, to look words which takes up time. This Evening Miss Nancy at last made her appearance; Mr. Thaxter and Miss Betsey Duncan were here a few minutes in the Evening.

23D.

The weather has look'd snowy, for several days past, but has remained, in Statu quo, till this evening; Which is pretty stormy.

The cherish'd fields
Put on their winter robe of purest white.¹

I am not fond of seeing this Robe; there is something so dreary so gloomy, to me, in looking, all around, to see a dull lifeless sameness, every where, that the first appearance of snow, is quite disagreeable to me.

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¹ James Thomson, "The Seasons: Winter," lines 232–233 (*Poetical Works*, ed. J. Logie Robertson, London, 1908, p. 194).

24TH.

Thanksgiving day in the State of New Hampshire. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw spent it in the upper Parish: the meeting house of which, being, one half in this State, and one half in the other they keep both. Ours will be three weeks from this day.

I spent the whole evening at Mr. White's. Miss Priscilla McKinstry was there, a very pretty, agreeable young Lady. I read to them 2 or three of Mrs. Aikin's Poem's. I have seen, verses, not better than these from illustrious pens; but I saw little, that I thought soar'd much above mediocrity. *Corsica*, has some very pretty thoughts in it, but often falls into prose, which must be the case, when the Emphasis cannot be laid on the last syllable of the line. But Ladies ought to be, exempted from the severe scrutiny of Criticism, and we should be willing, only to praise and admire the productions of their Apollo; *the groans of the tankard*, is either above or beneath Criticism, I will not say which.¹ Mrs. White is yet much indisposed.

¹ "Corsica" and "The Groans of the Tankard" were written by Anna Letitia Aikin Barbauld (*Works*, 2 vols., London, 1825, 1:1–11, 23–28).

25TH.

The Rev'd. Mr. True dined here: a person of a peculiar Character I am told, and from what I have seen of him to day I should have judg'd as much. At about 4 in the afternoon, my Uncle came in, and handed me, a noble Packet of Letters; 3 from My Mother 2 from my father, a long one from my Sister, and several others.¹ It has made me as happy, (I will not say as a king,) as I can be. One Letter from Mamma, dated, as late as Octr. 5th. I went down in the Evening, and read them to My Cousin and Peggy White. I greatly regret that I have not time to write to my Parents, and my Sister so often as I should wish to. My Studies necessarily take up almost all, and I have not enough left for necessary relaxation, exclusive of all the writing, I should do. In short it appears to me, that was every minute, I have, an hour I should not be at a loss to employ it. And at this very minute the Bell rings for nine of Clock, when I had no Idea, of its being yet 8.

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Snows and storms, highly this Evening: winter is coming forward with hasty stride.

¹ These probably included: JA to JQA, 31 Aug., 9 Sept.; AA to JQA, 6, 12 Sept., 5 Oct.; and AA2 to JQA, 26 Aug.–13 Sept. (Adams Papers).

26TH.

Finished the book of John, in the Testament, and was the Rest of the day, employ'd in answering my Letters. Inclosed the Marquis's letter to Mr. Breck, and wrote to Mr. Chaumont.¹ Mr. Thaxter and Eliza dined with us. A fine day.

¹ The availability of an abstract and a partial text for this letter is reported in Helen Cripe and Diane Campbell, comps. and eds., *American Manuscripts, 1763–*

1815: An Index to Documents Described in Auction Records and Dealers' Catalogues, Wilmington, Del., 1977, No. 14386.

27TH.

The forenoon discourse was upon Revelations, III. 15 and 16. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot. So then, because thou art luke-warm, and neither cold, nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. A very good Sermon was delivered, to inculcate a proper Zeal for Religion, and to show, the evil Consequences, of a lukewarm disposition. In the afternoon the text was in James IV: 17th. Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin. There is an Idea, which I cannot imagine to be a just one, in any Case, but which seems to possess every religious sect, more or less. It is not carried so far, in what is called the Protestant religion as in most others, but I cannot but wish, it was wholly erased from all. We are the chosen few, is repeated continually, and I believe equally unreasonably by all. I will freely own, that the divinity, has wisely thought fit to involve himself in an obscurity impenetrable to mortals. But it is in my mind, a settled maxim that every Idea, tending to excite a doubt, of the perfect benevolence, of the supreme being, is a false one, and from this I draw the Conclusion, that any human creature, who seeks the general welfare of the Society he belongs to, does all the good, and as little harm, as is possible, and adheres to what he has been taught from his Infancy to be his duty, can never be exposed to the resentment of a good and wise god, whatever the mode of his worship may be.

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28TH.

In the forenoon I, began, upon Xenophon's *Cryopaedia*,¹ and in the afternoon, upon the book of Matthew; closed in the Evening my N: 9 to my Sister.² I have for about a month past, recited in the morning, with my brother in Virgil, and it is rather to me a relaxation, than a study. It is a general Observation, that mankind have too exalted ideas, of those goods they do not possess, and too low an opinion of them, when attained. But I believe, with Respect to Science, this maxim must be reversed. It is most commonly despised by the ignorant, but is well appreciated by those, who have overcome, the difficulties, that occur in the road to it. A youth seldom takes pleasure, in the first pursuit of those Studies, which afterwards afford him, the highest Entertainment. When I first went through Virgil, I was struck with many Beauties, which it is impossible to overlook, but the difficulty of understanding the passages, often overballanced the Satisfaction, I then derived from them: but whenever I read over any part of this Author again I am abundantly rewarded, for all the pains I ever took, in becoming acquainted with him.

¹ The Greek writer whose *Cyropaedia*, a historical novel in eight books, used Cyrus the Elder as a model statesman. The work, a staple of 18th-century college education, focuses on the maintenance of law and authority and political organization. There are several copies of the work in the

Adams libraries at MB and MQA.

² No letters written by JQA to AA2 between 29 Oct. 1785 and 15 March 1786 have been found. JQA has misnumbered this letter in his Diary, for no. 9 was his of 8-18 Sept. 1785 (Adams Papers).

29TH.

The Ladies, went in the afternoon, to pay what is called, the wedding visit to Mrs. Woodbury: a mere ceremony, this, and I believe a very unmeaning one: there were four or five and twenty persons, there, to stare, at one another, for an hour, and then return home, to be the objects of each others observations: I did not go. Spent the evening at Mr. Dodge's, in Company with *Mr. Audlin*, a gentleman from Exeter, who looks, as if he was not to continue long in this world, a sociable, person, and of agreeable manners; Mr. James Duncan, Mr. Bil: and Mr. T. Osgood. The first is said to be a very sensible young man, and has something very soft in his looks and address: the other at least in his personal appearance, is somewhat in the other way, but I neither

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know, nor have heard much said as to his Character. Mr. D. Tyler, at times, and in particular this Evening, an easy, good-natured laughing person, who observed that it was wrong in a gentleman to swear; Miss Abial (I think it is) Osgood, of whom I could make, neither this nor that, for in the course of the whole evening she opened her lips twice, to answer Questions: my good Mr. Thaxter, and the charming Nancy. Upon the whole it was as agreeable an Evening as I have spent for a long time. There was sociability and good humour, and no Cards. Between 9 and 10 we retired, and I found at home, a long Letter from my Sister, coming down to the 2d. of October.¹ My obligations to write to her increase thus daily, and when I shall be able to fulfill them I know not.

¹ AA2 to JQA, 24 Sept.—1 Oct. (Adams Papers).

30TH.

The Ladies were out the afternoon. I spent the whole Evening with Mr. Thaxter, at his Office; and I regret I cannot spend more time with him than I do. Supped, at his lodgings; at Mrs. West's, a very good woman, as fond of hearing herself talk as other people are. Mr. Bil: Blodget was there, a droll, or who at least aims at being thought so: and his Conversation will divert one for half an hour, if not longer. He has been at Gofstown, some miles to the north of this, and says the Snow is four inches, deeper than it is here. The weather grows cold; and is now very clear. Mr. Thaxter came home with me.

THURSDAY DECEMBER 1ST. 1785.

Several of the Ladies, and Gentlemen, went in a party to Methuen, about 10 miles distant, in slays. It being lecture day we had Mr. Adams, a minister of another parish in the town, Mr. True, and Mr. Parker, the present schoolmaster here, to dine. Mr. True preach'd the Sermon, and spoke well, though he was somewhat long. After lecture Miss Betsey and Miss Sukey Redington, came and drank tea with my Aunt; the first is tall, and pretty; rather an harsh Countenance, fond of scandal, I believe, as well as her Sister, but does not take such pains to conceal it. The other is older and has perhaps seen the Necessity of practising a little dissimulation. They seem to have directly opposite

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ways to express the same Sentiments. Sukey's appearance, would at least denote good nature. She is very fat.

After waiting on them home, I step'd into Mr. Thaxter's office, and pass'd an hour there. From thence I went to Mr. White's, where most of the Company, that have been slaying were. I was much pleased with Mr. Bartlett's Conversation; I have heard, he is a person, of much knowledge, and extensive reading. I wish I could profit oftener by his Company. The cold has increased very considerably to day.

2D.

I have got through in four mornings, the preface to the *Cyropaedia*, but it is a crabbed piece of business. The Stile of this author is said to be Beautiful: a person who understands as little of it as I do, cannot discover the graces, that fine language, communicates to Ideas. I can only perceive a very great simplicity; which it would not be proper for an author at this day to adopt. My Aunt and Nancy spent the afternoon out; Mr. Thaxter was up, here at about 9 o'clock; very much affected, by having just heard, that Dr. Levett¹ an intimate acquaintance of his at Hingham, had drown'd himself. This is the third instance of suicide within these three weeks in this State, I never heard of so many in proportion, any where. I am equally surpriz'd and griev'd to find so much weakness, of mind, so frequently among my Countrymen that it argues an absolute deprivation of Reason, I will not say, but that it proves, a most cowardly, unmanly Spirit, there is no proof of. The Romans, are often brought to prove that it does not show a want of proper firmness and fortitude: but let it be remembered that their great Poet has said of those that hasten their own end

..... quam vellent aethere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!²

¹ Martin Leavitt, naval surgeon in the Revolution and physician in Hingham, Mass. (*History of the Town of Hingham*, 3 vols. in 4, Hingham, 1893, 1, pt. 2:317).

² *Aeneid*, Bk. VI, lines 436–437. JQA owned several copies of Virgil's works at this time. In Joseph Warton's Latin and

English edition (4 vols., London, 1778, purchased by JQA in 1783 and now at MQA) the lines are rendered "Oh! with what joy the wretches now would bear pain, toil, and woe, to breathe the vital air!" (3:186–187).

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3D.

Eliza dined here, and Mr. Mores,¹ a relation of Miss Nancy's. Mr. Thaxter and Miss Duncan, drank tea. In the afternoon I continued reading Watts's logic, but to read such books, with much improvement, I believe a calmer state of mind is requisite, than I now possess. They require the deepest attention, and the most settled Reflection: and of this at present I am not capable. When I reason with myself and ask why I am not happy?, I cannot find an Answer. Such is humanity; when it is not depressed by real Evils, it must necessarily frame to itself imaginary ones: and such is the kindness of Providence, that when it afflicts us with the real, it commonly frees us from the others. Thankful am I, that all my present disagreeable feelings, arise from my own fancy, and those I fear are too small a balance, for the real goods I am blest with. My meaning here, must be obscure, to any one but myself; but I shall never be at a loss with respect to it.

¹ Benjamin Moores, a Revolutionary officer and later a local official in Plattsburg, N.Y. (Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, p. 389, 640-641).

4TH.

Snowy weather, a great part of the day. My Aunt quite unwell. The Ladies did not attend the meeting. Sacrament day. The forenoon Sermon was adapted to the occasion. Hebrews VIII, 6th. But now he hath obtained a more excellent ministry, by, how much also he is the mediator of a better covenant which was established upon better promises. The afternoon text was in John XII. 26. If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be; if any man serve me, him will my father honour. I have often wondered how a preacher, can continually produce two Sermons a week, without repeating almost perpetually the same thing: the sphere, in which they are limited being so contracted, and morality for the most part, the Subject they must speak upon. The fertility of the brain is as inconceivable a thing as the faculty of thinking itself. Rain'd all the Evening, and probably all the snow that fell in the morning, will be dissolv'd by to morrow.

5TH.

After passing all the day, at pretty Close Study, I went and spent the Evening at Mr. White's. Mr. Osgood, and Major Bart-

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lett,¹ with their Ladies, were there: I had at length, an Invitation from the former, to go to his House. The terms that subsist between his family and Mr. Shaw's, are such, that, I did not expect any notice from him: nor had I any right to expect it: but as a man possess'd of liberal Sentiments, his enmities do not extend further than persons. He is acknowledged to be a very Sensible, as well as an hospitable man; and Mr. Shaw often laments, that a reconciliation cannot take place. Found Mr. Thaxter here, when I return'd home: he is to set off on a journey to Boston, and Hingham, to-morrow morning. Mr. Marsh was here too. He is the eldest of 12 Children, of an old Lady in town, and it is remarkable, that 11 of the 12, are uncommonly Sensible, for the few advantages of education they have enjoy'd, as they are all mechanics. This man is between 60 and 70 years old. He was mentioning a person, who had an opinion of some religious point, different from his own. Now says he, he is very wrong.

Perhaps, said Mr. Shaw, he thinks you are wrong.

Ay, but I *know* he is.

If such a degree of certainty, is not Philosophical, at least a man is perhaps the happier for professing it. When I see People, says some French author, adoring the Image of a Saint, for its miracles, I pity them, and yet wish, I believed as firmly as they.

¹ Probably Israel Bartlett, Haverhill goldsmith and Revolutionary officer, cousin of Bailey Bartlett (Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, p. 620-621).

6TH.

Miss Betsey Cranch came and stay'd here all day. Miss Nancy went out to day, and will spend the rest of the week, with some of her friends. Went with my Cousin to Mr. White's in the Evening. Mr. Ben: Blodget was there; but soon took his leave. There is something in this person that makes me, and Eliza smile, whenever we look at him. I don't doubt however but he is a very good sort of a youth.

I feel in much better spirits, than I have for a considerable time, and I hope, the gloom that has oppressed my mind, for some weeks, is now entirely dispelled. I have not that I know of, been ever, more contented, and happy, than I now feel myself; and I am now fully satisfied, that I have nothing to fear from a Quarter, which has given me a great deal of anxiety.

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7TH.

It snow'd all day; in the Evening it clear'd up, and grew very cold. Eliza, came in the morning, and on account of the Snow that has fallen, stays here to-night.

8TH.

A colder day, than I have experienced, for nearly these three years. It froze very hard in the night, and if this weather continues, we shall have very fine slaying. The cold has ruin'd my horse; for it is put him in such a situation, that I have no expectation that he will be alive three days hence. Immediately after dinner Eliza, went home; between 5 and 6. I went down to Major Bartlett's, and spent the Evening there. The two Miss Duncan's, P. White, E. Cranch, and N. Hazen; Mr. B. Osgood, J. Duncan, B. Mores, and myself, were all the Company. We play'd a rubber of whist, and yet I kept awake: the Evening was otherwise agreeably spent. I never saw Nancy Coquet it, quite so much; she seem'd really determined to outstrip herself. I really believe I have form'd too favourable an opinion of this girl: let me not however too hastily conceive prejudices against her. To judge Characters with impartiality, is by no means an easy task. Affection or Resentment, will almost always misrepresent things. These passions are the Jaundice of the mind, for they show every thing of the same colour. I wish to free myself from them, in as great a measure as I possibly can. At about 8 I came away, and waited on Miss B. Duncan home. Went into the house, and remained about half an hour there. The Weather seems to be a little more moderate now, than it has been in the Course of the day.

9TH.

The air is very temperate, in Comparison to that of yesterday. The river, was froze over in such a manner, that it was almost sufficient to bear a man's Weight: but it is now so different, that Mr. Peabody, came over this Evening in a boat: the closing of this River, is always a sudden affair. Mr. Duncan, and Mr. Payson, were here, in the Evening; and Mr. Ben Willis, a youth, about 17 years, old, who has so much sedateness, and steadiness, in his looks and manners, that he goes by the name of the young

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Captain: I received a Horace, by the Post, from my Brother, to whom I sent for it last Week. I began upon the Odes, and went through the two first.¹

Rain.

¹ In addition to reading Horace's Odes, JQA very likely began, but never completed, a translation. See the undated document in M/JQA/44, Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 239, which contains a prose translation of the first three odes.

10TH.

Mr. I. Smith came over before dinner. He is to preach to-morrow at Bradford for Mr. Allen, who is gone to Boston, as he says himself, for special purposes, that is; to be married.¹ In the afternoon I went with him, and visited Mr. Osgood. This was the first time I had been, in that house; and he said when I came out of it, Come, we have not been neighbourly: you must come, in, and see us often.

Dreadful Complaints of the times: Decay of Trade, scarcity of money &c. but these are grown mere Common place Observations, and do not make so deep impression, as if real distress, was seen attending them. Went into Mr. White's. Mrs. Soughton, was there; arrived this morning from Boston. Ran into Judge Blodget's, for a few minutes, found Nancy there, and Miss Sally Perkins, a young Lady I have not seen before. Bil Blodget squeaked a few tunes, on the violin: return'd and drank tea at Mr. White's. Paid a few Compliments to Miss Peggy, which surprised her very much. She had thought before, I made it an invariable Rule, never to make Compliments. I rather did it, with a View to receive a few less, myself: she is very fond of making them.

¹ The following day Rev. Jonathan Allen married Elizabeth Kent (1747-1821), first cousin of AA and daughter of Ebenezer and Anna (Smith) Kent of Charlestown (Boston Record Commission-

ers, 30th Report, p. 71; Thomas Bellows Wyman, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1629-1818*, 2 vols., Boston, 1879, 2:571).

11TH.

Mr. Shaw went over to Bradford, in the morning, to preach for Mr. Allen, and Mr. Smith supplied his place here. The forenoon discourse, was from CXIX Psalm. 165. Great Peace have they which love thy law; and nothing shall offend them. In the after-

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noon, it was from Genesis VIII. 22. While the earth remaineth, seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer and Winter, and day, and night shall not cease. I was much pleased with both; there were several persons, that attended to day, whom I have never seen there before. There are a number of gentlemen in Town, who, make it a Rule, never to attend divine Service here, if Mr. Shaw preaches. What narrow illiberal prejudices attend us, almost in every Circumstance of our lives. Closed my letter to my Sister in the Evening.¹

¹ Letter not found.

12TH.

I am exceedingly pleased with what I have done in Horace; and have come across many very noble Sentiments. One of those in the 9th. Ode, which I read this morning, comes, very near to one, that proceeded from the Saviour of the World. Matthew VI. 34. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Horace Ode IX. 13.

Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere; et
Quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
Appone¹

The writer, that has ideas, so correspondent to those uttered by the mouth of god, and that without the real inspiration, must very justly hold his rank among the greatest authors. Mr. Smith set out in the afternoon to return to Boston.

¹ "Cease to ask what the morrow will bring forth, and set down as gain each day that Fortune grants!" (*Horace: The Odes and Epodes*, transl. C. E. Bennett, Cambridge, 1952, p. 28-29 [lines 13-15]). The long series of spaced periods are JQA's; he

failed to include the next line from Horace: "Nor in thy youth neglect sweet love nor dances, whilst life is still in its bloom and crabbed age is far away!" (same).

13TH.

Went in the afternoon, with an Intention to visit Mr. Soughton, but stopping in at Mr. White's, was told he, and his Lady were spending the afternoon at Judge Blodget's: found Eliza, somewhat unwell. Mr. Sears, Mr. Burges, and Mr. Marquand, were at Mr. White's all the evening; and Mr. Osgood and

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Mr. Duncan. Mr. Sears I take to be between 30 and 35 years old; has made an handsome fortune in the late war: his manners are easy, and agreeable: his Principles not so rigid and severe, as are required in this Country. Mr. Burges, is an Englishman: plain in his Countenance, dress, and manners: though he says some things, that I cannot easily reconcile, with certain Circumstances. Mr. Marquand, is a Merchant from Newbury, who is not I imagine in danger of losing the use of his Tongue. He did not suffer the Conversation to grow languid; from the manner in which he related a number of things, I imagined, he preferred adding a few supernumerary Circumstances, which might create wonder, to giving a plain unadorned account of things. Peggy called some of his expressions flummery, I called them Puffs. Either may express the proper Idea. Miss Nancy, finally return'd home this Evening.

14TH.

Remained at home all day. Just at dusk Eliza came, up, and Leonard White with her. He brought me a Couple of Letters from my Cousin and brother.¹ He came, only to keep Thanksgiving, for the winter Vacation, will not begin, before the first Wednesday in January.

¹ Letters not found.

15TH.

Thanksgiving Day, a day of feasting throughout the State. Custom (and I know not but law also) has established, that towards the End of the year, the Governor, should appoint a certain day, for returning thanks to the supreme being for his favours during the course of the year, and the Custom is, universally, to have something extraordinary on that day, to feast upon. We had a sermon in the forenoon, upon the occasion, from Exodus. XXIII. 15. 16. and none shall appear before me empty; And the feast of the harvest, the first-fruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown, in the field: and the feast of the in-gathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field. Mr. Shaw who has been ill of a cold for some time, and was very hoarse, wish'd Mr. Porter¹ to preach for him, but he refused, because, sometime ago, just before the

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thanksgiving day in New Hampshire, upon his applying to Mr. Shaw to preach for him, he answered that Every Minister ought to preach his own thanksgiving. Mr. Soughton, with his Lady and Daughter dined here, and our Eliza. We had a very abundant Entertainment. We spent the evening at Mr. White's. The usual Circle, were present; and Mr. *Johnny* White² (as they call him here, for distinction sake) and his Lady. We play'd cross Purposes, and I know not what. We laugh'd at one another all the Evening, and at about 9 in the Evening retired respectively, in good humour.

¹ Huntington Porter, minister at Rye, N.H. (Langdon B. Parsons, *History of the Town of Rye, New Hampshire, From Its Discovery and Settlement to December 31, 1903*, Concord, N.H., 1905, p. 498).

² John White Jr., Haverhill merchant and shopkeeper and older brother of JQA's future classmate Leonard (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 17:672-673).

16TH.

Dined at Mr. White's. His Son and Mr. Soughton with their Ladies, were there. Spent all the afternoon; and when I return'd home, I found, B. Duncan, and her two Brothers with, our sweet Nancy, who play'd with James, as amiably and as innocently, as if they were both in their first or second lustre. Betsey was reading, the Night Thoughts, and I recommended to her perusal the 5th and 6th. Satires of the Love of fame the universal Passion.¹ Mr. and Mrs. Shaw went over in the afternoon, and paid the wedding visit to Mrs. Allen, who is in high spirits, as indeed she well may be for if Expectation makes the blessing dear she has had enough of it. Mr. Porter spent the Evening with Mr. Shaw.

¹ Edward Young, *The Complaint: Or, Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, London, 1745, and his *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion, In Seven Characteristic Satires*, London, 1728. The fifth and sixth satires are "on women."

17TH.

Mr. Thaxter return'd from his journey this Evening. He had a very disagreeable time to-day; as the greatest part of it, has been very Rainy. But with such special calls as he has here the Weather must be no impediment to travelling: he brought a number of Letters from Braintree,¹ and some books for me.

¹ Letters to JQA, if any, have not been found.

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18TH.

Both our Sermons were from the Psalms. In the morning, LXXVIII. 52. But made his own People to go forth like sheep, and guided them in the wilderness like a flock. After Dinner XVI. 8. I have set the Lord always before me; because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. There are two sorts of preaching: the one, doctrinal, the other, practical. The latter is generally considered as the most useful, and I believe really is. The abstruse points of religion, have so long been disputed upon, that it is probable every argument that can be of any use on either side, has been repeatedly offered; and the preacher can do little more than give his own opinion. But of our moral duties we can never be too often reminded, and for the most part, we require to have them continually told us. Spent part of the Evening at Mr. White's. Mr. Thaxter, Mr. T. Osgood, and the young Captain were there. Mr. Osgood, and I were very sociable together; it was the first Time, I have had any Conversation with him. I was told my friend W. Warren, had return'd from Lisbon, and arrived at Boston last Wednesday.

Mr. White had a Vessel in at Newbury Port from the West Indies.

Leonard goes for Cambridge to-morrow morning.

19TH.

Finished the first book of Horace's Odes.

I went in the afternoon, and pass'd the Evening, at Mr. Johnny White's. Besides his father's family, there were, in the course of the Evening Sukey Sargeant, Sally Bernard, Debby Perkins, and Ben Blodget. Mrs. White's Sister Sally also, who is not handsome, but agreeable. I am more pleased with Debby, than I have been, and think, she might be made something very Clever: poor Benny, is somewhat unfortunate, for in the short stay, he has made in the town, he has afforded subject of mirth for the young Ladies, but they are not always the best judges of real merit. Mr. White has something curious in his Character. He very frequently complains, of being rude before Ladies, and sometimes proves it immediately: Miss Sukey, I am going to be very unpolite, and I believe this is the first time, you have found me so: I want to see, that Sweet heart of your's. The Lady answered with

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great Propriety; but it would certainly have exposed many girls to have made, either an unmeaning or an insincere one.

20TH.

After studying, all day, as usual, I went in the Evening to Mr. Duncan's. Our time pass'd in chatting, laughing, romping, and dancing. Young Squire White,¹ (for there are so many persons of that name in this Town that they are known only by their nick-names) humm'd and whistled a number of Country dances. This is another of the young Ladies' playthings here, but it is his own fault for suffering it. He seems to talk childish now and then, but he is not yet five and twenty; his youth may be his excuse. Studied late, as I most commonly do. Twelve or half after is my hour for retirement of late. I do not admire it much; but it is quite Necessary; and I therefore submit to it.

¹Samuel White Jr., son of Squire Samuel White, prominent Haverhill merchant and farmer and first cousin of John White Sr. (Daniel Appleton White and Annie Frances Richards, *The Descendants of William White, of Haverhill, Mass. . . .*, Boston, 1889, p. 9-12, 16, 22-23, 27, 53).

21ST.

All day at home. I am often at a great loss, what to say at the End of a day, in this Journal, of mine: I would place my thoughts upon Persons and things: but Persons I do not often see, and when I am in Company with a new Character, and recollect my Observations upon it, they are for the most part either such as I am afraid I should in future consider as partial and ill natured, or wholly insignificant; and my time is so entirely taken up, in other employments, that I make very few reflections upon things. However this scene of perpetual sameness, which does not agree perfectly with my disposition, will not last very long. The family I am in, presents as perfect a scene of happiness, as I ever saw: but it is entirely owing to the disposition of the persons. A life of Tranquility is to them a life of bliss. It could not be so to me. Variety is my Theme, and Life to me is like a journey, in which an unbounded plain, looks dull and insipid; while it affords greater pleasure to be surrounded by a beautiful valley, altho' steep and rugged mountains must be overcome, before it can be got at. I know not whether my Choice is the wisest: and it is possible I may live to change it; but such it is, at present.

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22D.

The snow was entirely gone from the ground, and the three first days in this week, were such as might be expected in April, or May, but are not common, at this Season of the year: Last Night some new snow fell again: but it is not very cold now. In the Evening I read to my Aunt for about an hour. I began and went through the first book of the Conquest of Canaan. The Versification is very fine. Many of the Ideas are noble, and all such as highly become a republican pen; the following are a specimen.

Mine be the bliss, the bliss supreme to see
My long-lov'd nation bless'd, and bless'd by me:
Let others rule; compar'd with this pure joy,
A throne's a bubble, and the world a toy.¹

It will not be easy I believe to find, more excellent thoughts, and better express'd in the best of the british Poets. These lines also I think need only to be read, to be admired.

Of all the sympathy, that woes impart
To the soft texture of the good man's heart,
Departed friendship, claims the largest share,
And sorrow in excess is virtue there.²

Mr. Wibird who borrow'd the book when it was at Braintree, read it, and was very much pleased with it. He says, the author of it, is the american *Pope*, as he calls the author of *McFingal*, our *Butler*, and *Belknap* who has written an history of New Hampshire,³ our *Robertson*.

¹ Bk. I, lines 593–596.

² Same, Bk. I, lines 497–500.

³ Jeremy Belknap, the Dover, N.H., minister whose literary reputation rests chiefly on his *History of New-Hampshire* . . . , 3 vols., Boston, 1784–1792.

23D.

Mr. Thaxter return'd from Exeter Court, (where he went last Tuesday) and dined with us. Mrs. Shaw was out, all the afternoon and evening. This morning I finish'd the 2d. book of Horace's Odes, and had one, which pleased me, as much, or more than any I have met with yet. It is the 16th. All those that Compose, this book are very fine, and I remember I have heard my

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father who is very fond of the author, speak, in a peculiar manner of it.

24TH.

Eliza, spent the day here. Received some books from Braintree. Studied Watts's logic, in the afternoon, and have now got upon the subject of Syllogisms, which I do not as yet perfectly understand, but believe I shall with another reading. This method of Syllogism, is not the most perfect kind of rhetoric. Anything may be proved by it according to the rules: though nothing can be proved in fact but what the adversary chooses to grant.

It snow'd hard, all day. Wrote a letter in the Evening to my Mamma.¹

¹ Probably the letter dated 28 Dec. (Adams Papers).

25TH.

Christmas day.¹ Among the Roman Catholics and the followers of the Church of England it is a great and Important day, but it is not observed in this Country, nor any where I believe by the dissenters. We had a couple of doctrinal Sermons to day. One from Isaiah XLIV. 23. Sing, o ye heavens; for the Lord hath done it: shout, ye lower parts of the Earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains o forest and every tree therein; for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel. The other from John XIII. 8. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.

The weather has been very pleasant. Eliza is unwell and was not at meeting. In the Evening I read to the Ladies, the 2d. book of the Conquest of Canaan; it is not inferior to the first, but the hero has nothing to do in it, and it consists all in relation, as the 2d. and 3d. Books of the Æneid. The hymn to the Sun, is beautiful. *Mina's* account of the Creation, and the subsequent history, is as concise, and comprehensive, as any thing of the kind I have read: the observation she makes concerning the Sun,

Yon orb, whose brightness claims thy raptur'd praise,
Is but a beam of his unbounded blaze.²

is admirable, but the author must have supposed that the Educa-

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tion of young Ladies, at the time he writes of, was much more excellent, than is given them in this age of the world. It is probable, that the reading of history has since been replaced by that of novels and plays, which were not invented then; young Ladies now, would be much more expert at giving an account of some high flown Romance, than of any history, even that of their own Country.

¹ A Sunday.

² Bk. II, lines 153–154.

26TH.

Exceeding cold Weather all day. Such as I have not felt these three years. Went and pass'd the Evening at Mr. White's. Eliza, has been unwell since Saturday, but is recovering. The Ladies play'd several tunes on the harpsichord, and make considerable proficiency.

Peggy, is a fine girl, and her case claims the Compassion of every body that knows her. The Unhappy state of mind which she laboured under last Winter, seems an hereditary disorder: her Mother has been in the same Case; Mrs. Duncan, whose dreadful fate has been mentioned was Mrs. White's Sister, and a brother¹ not long since, put an end to himself; in the same state of Mind. This must necessarily be a disadvantage to her, for her future settlement in Life. And although she has recovered, and is in good Spirits, yet a great curiosity, and a continual absence of mind, are evident proofs, that some traces of her disorder still remain: she was one of the most promising young Ladies in the Town; with an high Spirit, such as every female, at her time of Life should be possessed of, and a cheerful agreeable disposition; I sincerely wish every consequence of her former disorder, may, as most of them already have, gradually disappear, and that she may wholly recover her first state of mind, not to lose it again. She seems to have inherited none of her father's qualities. He appears to have a great deal of the dutchman in him. If he has none of the delicious enjoyments that proceed from deep Sensibility, neither is he exposed to the painful Sensations, which it often causes.

¹ Abiel Leonard committed suicide in 1777 (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 14:450–455).

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27TH.

Was at home all day. The Cold, has in some measure abated, but is still severe. The Ladies pass'd the afternoon out. In the evening I read the 3d. Book of our Epic Poem, which does not please me, quite so much as the two first. The Characters of Hezron, Irad, and Selima, are drawn with a masters hand; and the scene of the mutiny, with the death of one of the rebelling chiefs has a vast deal of force and spirit in it. But I did not so much admire, the dialogue between Irad, and Selima, concerning the justice of the War. It was not perhaps necessary to suppose, that any person among the Israëlites doubted the righteousness of their Cause, and it is a digression which seems to leave the action of the Poem languishing. The author cannot be accused as Virgil is of being partial against the female sex. The Characters of Mina and Selima, would rather lead one, to suppose he had too exalted an opinion of them. If he errs that way it is a failing, much more amiable and excusable than the other.

28TH.

The sharpest day we have had, this Season. Dined at Mr. Duncan's, in Company, with Miss P. White, E. Cranch, and Nancy, Mr. Moores, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Thaxter, Mr. Tyler and his brother. Spent the afternoon and part of the Evening there. I wonder, how it happens, that almost every kind of Conversation, that may be of any use to persons, is excluded from polite Companies every where; is it because the children of ignorance and folly, are so much more numerous than those of thought and science, that these must submit to imitate them. There were this day in Company several persons, who were able to afford us much improvement and entertainment; if they had conversed upon subjects that were susceptible of it; yet by the tyrannical law of Custom, they were obliged to talk Nonsense. When I returned home, I read the 4th. Book. I know not whether the Critic might not find considerable fault with it: there are a number, of beautiful detailed descriptions, which seems to be peculiarly the author's talent. That of Eleazer, with which the book opens is admirable: but he marries Elam and Mina rather suddenly. She had been in Gibeon but very few days, in which time she had not it seems been idle; she had converted a Nation, and made a Conquest of the Kings Son. Is not this proceeding with a little too

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much dispatch. But this Circumstance, produces, a very just and excellent observation. He represents Mina, after her marriage, as rather impatient to return, with her husband to Gibeon, and says.

In love's kind heat, like ice in summer's ray,
All former ties, dissolving, pass away;
To new found friends the soul oblivious flies
New objects charm us, and new passions rise.¹

The story of Helon, which is something like that of Nisus, and Euryalus in the *Æneid*, is pretty, and affecting.

¹ Bk. IV, lines 529–532.

29TH.

Young Lakeman,¹ who studies with us, came over the river in the morning upon the Ice. The river closed last Night. In the afternoon, I went over with Mr. Thaxter, and paid a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Allen. They look as domestic, and as much settled as if they had been keeping house, these ten years. They both seem to have attained at least the summit of the hill of Life; and they will now be able to go down, hand in hand, which is much better than travelling alone. Mr. Thaxter came up, in the Evening, and supped with us. I wish I could see him pair'd also; and if I can judge from the apparent alteration, which has lately taken place in his sentiments concerning marriage, it will not be long before he too will get entangled.

¹ Probably Nathan Lakeman, of Boxford, who later practiced medicine in Hamilton and Gloucester, Mass. (Sidney Perley, "The Dwellings of Boxford," *Essex Inst., Hist. Colls.*, 29:120 [Jan.–June 1892]; Russell Leigh Jackson, "Physicians of Essex County," same, 84:87 [Jan. 1948]).

30TH.

Snow'd hard all day. The weather very chilly and disagreeable. I finish'd the first book of the *Cyropaedia*; to admire the beauties of this book I must be much more acquainted with the Language, it is written in, than I am at present. The Events related in what I have gone through, are in themselves small, and not very interesting; related with a simplicity of style, adapted to them: the Conversation between Cambyses and Cyrus, which concludes the book, may perhaps be of great service to military

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Characters. In the Evening I read the 5th. Book of our Poem. This too seems to be entirely Episodic; and has no tendency to advance the Action, of the Poem; but it is in itself charming, and perhaps, if a Poem, is moral, instructive and entertaining it is not necessary that it should be confined to the severe rules of a phlegmatic, cold-blooded Critic. The Character and history of Irad appears to be an Imitation of that of Pallas, in Virgil, and the additional Circumstance of his being in Love, is not amiss. The Reflections upon the first fall, are noble, and pleasing, the different effects that the intention of Irad to join in the war, has upon Hezron, and Selima, are proper and natural. The Sentiment of Irad

But doom'd to fall, should Heaven my life demand
And death betide me from a heathen's hand,
I fall in Virtue's cause. Far happier doom,
In that bless'd path, to find a speedy tomb!
Than, lost in sports, or sunk in shameful ease,
To drag a worthless life, and swell inglorious days.¹

ought to be that of every youth, who wishes for the applause of his Country, and the Esteem of mankind.

¹ Lines 673-678.

31ST.

Finish'd Watts's logic. Which I have been a long time, about, but have never look'd in it except Saturdays in the afternoon. What I this day read were rules to guide our Reason, and I was much pleased with them. The Ladies went in the afternoon, down to Mr. White's to see Eliza, who has again been very much indisposed.

And now the year has come to a close; one half hour more, and probably before I shut this book, a new one, will be ushered in, and the present added to the number of those that have performed their course, and are never more to appear, unless in the annals of past Time. A large portion of the Life of man, has elapsed, since I began, this volume; and can I boldly say to myself, that my improvements have been in proportion to the moments that have flown? I dare not search into my heart, for an answer, Time steals gradually, and imperceptibly away; so that we are not sensible how important it is to employ it well, untill it

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is gone too far to be retrieved. Moment after moment passes off, and seems as nothing; but when millions of those nothings, have collected into a year, and we see it gone, cruel Reflection rushes upon us, and undeceives us of our Error. One minute to come, is worth a thousand years past; which can only serve, to teach us how to make a proper use of it. But I still esteem myself as happy, that I can this night lay me down and sleep with this Consolation, that whatever errors, or foibles, may have misled me in the course, of the past or of the preceding years, at least I have not to reproach myself with Vice, which it has always been my principle to dread, and my Endeavour to shun. May it always be so, and may my Conscience, at the time, when the unerring hand of Death, shall be laid on me, clear me, as it now does.

JANUARY 1ST. 1786. SUNDAY.

The forenoon discourse from Acts XXVI. 22. Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day,¹ inculcated thankfulness for the goodness of Providence in suffering us to live to this day. That in the afternoon from Psalm CXVI. 12. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? was more general, and respected all the blessings, the People have enjoyed during the course of the last year. Both were occasional, and as good as any I have heard since I have been in this Town. I received in the Evening, a Letter from my Sister, and a packet from the Marquis de la: Fayette.²

¹ Punctuation has been editorially supplied.

² Probably AA2 to JQA, 18 Oct. 1785 (Adams Papers); the contents of Lafayette's packet have not been identified.

2D.

At about half past 7 this morning, a slight shock of an Earthquake, was felt here. It lasted about 2 minutes. It was perceived by several persons in this house, and by most people in Town. I was asleep, and perceived nothing of it. Spent the Evening at Mr. White's. Mr. and Mrs. Allen, came over in the afternoon, and drank tea, here, and took Betsey Smith away with them. I finished this morning the third book of Horace's Odes. Many of them are very fine, and the last one shows he was himself, sufficiently Sensible of it. When a Poet promises immortality to himself, he is always on the safe side of the Question, for if his works

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die with him, or soon after him, no body ever can accuse him of vanity or arrogance: but if his predictions are verified, he is considered not only as a Poet, but as a Prophet. But I don't know if this Consciousness, which great men have of their abilities, is so great a failing, as is often supposed. It seems not to be required that they should not have a sense of their superiority, but that they should not show it. This perhaps proceeds from our own Vanity, which cannot bear the least mortification. No man, I believe underrates himself, and I have a greater opinion of a man's Sincerity when he frankly owns his Sentiments of himself, than when he, hypocritically undervalues himself, and shuns fame, but to make it sure.

3D.

A heavy Snow storm, all day. Not less I imagine, than two feet fell, upon a level. Mr. Thaxter dined and spent the afternoon here. Wrote to my Sister¹ in the Evening, was obliged to lay aside my morning lesson, on account of my eyes which begin to be weak.

¹ Letter not found.

4TH.

It has not yet cleared up, but no Snow fell this day. In the Evening I went down to Mr. White's to see Leonard, who arrived from Cambridge this afternoon. The Winter Vacation, at the University began this day, and will last, five Weeks. There was Company at Mr. White's. Mr. White from Boston,¹ a person exceeding tall, but of easy manners. Mr. Bil: Blodget, the study of whose life is, to be accounted a droll fellow; and it must be confess'd he has acquired the art of speaking Nonsense, in such a manner, as commonly raises a laugh. Whether this is wit or no, is what I shall not at present determine.

¹ William White, of "Merchant's-row," Boston, was a cousin of John White Sr. (Daniel Appleton White and Annie Frances Richards, *The Descendants of William White, of Haverhill, Mass. . . .*, p. 9-12, 15-16, 29-30, 59; *Boston Directory*, 1789).

5TH.

It snow'd again almost all day. Mr. W. White, and Leonard, came, and pass'd an hour here, in the Evening. As this prevented

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me from writing, I studied in the 4th. Book of Horace's Odes; but it did no good to my Eyes. The third, to Melpomene, is supposed to be one of his best, and is that which Scaliger would have preferred being the author of, rather than King of Arragon, which after all, was not I believe a very excellent way of expressing his Admiration if he had the choice of two Impossibilities, he tells us, which he should rather have.¹ It is a very Vulgar manner of Expression, though more commonly made use of by lovers than Critics.

¹ Joseph Justus Scaliger, the foremost Latin scholar and critic of the 16th century and editor of Greek and Latin classics (Hoefer, *Nouv. biog. générale*). This preference is mentioned in several editions of Horace's works owned by JQA at this

time, including Philip Francis, *A Poetical Translation of the Works of Horace, With the Original Text . . .*, 8th edn., 4 vols., London, 1778, 2:138 ([Christian Lotter], Inventory of JQA's Books, 6 Nov. 1784, Adams Papers).

6TH.

Went down in the Evening and was a couple of hours at Mr. White's. They were to have had Company, there, but were disappointed. I was not. I pass'd the Evening, in a very agreeable, sociable manner, which I should not have done in the other Case. The way we have here of killing Time, in large Companies, appears to me, most absurd and ridiculous. All must be fixed down, in Chairs, looking at one another, like a puppet show, and talking some Common Place phrases to one another, and those that do make observations, adding to their Treasure of scandal which is afterwards dealt out prodigally, in smaller Societies. Why cannot mankind, study their own, and each other's Ease, upon such Occasions, instead of making Society a toil rather than a pleasure.

7TH.

Dined at Mr. Bartlett's. There were 15 persons at Table, of whom I was not acquainted with Mr. McCard, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. W. Codman, from Boston. Mr. Parsons, is a great wit; but not a Christian. He is very fond of ridiculing the Bible. He pass'd a number of jests upon it, at Table. There was no man, he said in this Town, who read the Bible more, than he did, or who made less use of the Principles it contained. He had never seen any Book, he did not believe there existed a book, that contained such excellent Precepts for Life, and by following which a Man,

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might be happier. But there were an hundred tales, in it, which were childish and silly. People talk'd of Inspiration. He wondered what the book of Ruth, what the book of Esther, had to do with Inspiration. If he had a family, he would conform, to the established religious customs, because, they were for the good of Society in general. But as it was, he thought best to follow his own Ease and Inclination. This man, has a very lively fancy, and a sprightly natural wit, but I think he makes a bad use of it. Whatever a man's religious principles may be, I believe it is very unpolite and improper for him to ridicule the general Opinion.

When I return'd home, I found a large Company of Ladies there, Miss Stevenson, Eliza, Duncan,¹ Peggy White, two Miss Reddington's and Miss L. Night,² a young Lady from Newbury, who is here on a visit. She comes as near a perfect beauty, as any Lady I remember to have seen. Tall, but a beautiful shape, fine eyes, and in short every feature pleasing, except the nose, which is rather of the Roman sort, and injures her appearance, in profile; her taste in dress Elegant, and her disposition said to be excellent, which is much more to her advantage, than her personal figure. Mr. T. Osgood is said to be her admirer. Was working all the Evening, and was confirm'd in an Opinion which I conceiv'd a considerable time since, and which gives me much pain. I could not be induced to live long in such a Situation, to be suspected and spied, and guarded, all from a Chimaera, rising in a persons brain, is what I cannot bear. It proceeds I am perswaded, from good motives, and a wish for my welfare; but it is like putting a man, perfectly well, into a course of Physic, which may create real disorders. But this will not I hope be the case.

¹ "Eliza, Duncan": JQA may mean Eliza Cranch and Elizabeth (Betsy) Duncan as both were there ("Journal of Elizabeth Cranch," p. 24).

"Lucinda" by JQA while a law student in Newburyport and was incorporated into his poem "A Vision" (entries of 30 Jan. 1787, note; 28 March 1788, below).

² Lucy Knight was later satirized as

8TH.

Mr. Adams, the Minister of another Parish, belonging to this Town changed with Mr. Shaw, and preached here in the forenoon, from Matthew XI. 21, 22. Wo unto thee Chorazin! wo unto thee Bethsaïda! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented

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long ago, in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of Judgment than for you. The discourse, was I thought very good; and had a proper Tendency to inculcate the moral duties. The Sermon in the afternoon, was upon Romans, XV. 3. For even Christ pleased not himself; we were told first, negatively; what was not the Sense, of these words; and then positively, what was. This is an old fashion, but, was in this Case, very proper. In former times a Minister would take, an hour to prove, negatively, that the Lord, was not Job, nor Satan, nor in short any thing but God. This absurd custom, is now I believe, universally abolished: but in this Case, it was very proper, to show what was not meant by the Text, because the passage, might be mis-construed; so as to raise the reproach of contradiction and inconsistency which has been so often laid to the Scripture. Mr. Adams held up the doctrine of mortification and self-denial, but at the same time disapproved of Hermitage, pilgrimages, penances &c. which could answer no End. He recommended self denial, when our important interests, or the good of our fellow Creatures required it.

9TH.

Was all day at home, and in the evening, closed my Letter to my Sister,¹ as the Post goes for Boston, to-morrow, one day sooner than common, and Captain Lyde² sails in a few days, for London: it kept me up exceeding late, or rather till very early, for it was near 2, in the morning, when I finish'd; I burn't my fingers, bruised my toes,³ and went to bed: but what was worst of all I affronted Miss Nancy by speaking somewhat too abruptly.

¹ Letter not found.

(*Boston Independent Chronicle*, 12 Jan.; JA, *Diary and Autobiography*, 3:154, 156).

² Nathaniel Byfield Lyde, captain of the *Boston Packet* and formerly captain of the ship *Active*, in which AA and AA2 sailed to England from Boston in 1784

³ JQA probably meant that he burned his fingers on the candle and bruised his toes in the dark afterward.

10TH.

Leonard White came up in the morning, and proposed to me, to make one of a small slaying party to Ham[p]stead, where Mr. White has an house, and farm. At about 10 o'clock, the slay stopp'd at the gate, and we immediately set away; Eliza, Peggy White Mr. Moores, Leonard, and myself. It was half past 11 before we got to the Place, although only 8 miles distant; on ac-

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count of the great number of loaded teams which we met on the road; the Country People, come down in the Winter in Slays, from 40 or 50 miles, to supply this and the neighbouring towns, with provisions of various kinds; and as the path is now very narrow, and the Snow deep, it is difficult, and sometimes dangerous for two carriages to cross each other. About 3 miles from Mr. Shaw's, is the line which separates the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, I had never cross'd it before this day. We dined at Hamstead, and at about half after four set out to return; it was about 6 o'clock when we got to Mr. White's house. We had quite an agreeable party; the weather very good, and the Company small; return'd from Mr. White's, at about 8 o'clock, and went very early to bed, as what with setting up so late last night, and what with the jaunt, I was very much fatigued.

11TH.

Finished in the forenoon, the second Book of the Cyropaedia; which I began, the 2d. of this month, and in the afternoon I began upon the book of Luke, in the Testament. I finish'd Matthew, last Thursday, and passed over Mark, in which it is supposed there is no difficulty, and which I may go through, in case, I have leisure. Miss Nancy, went in the afternoon with a large Party on slaying; and dancing. I loiter'd away the whole evening, which I have not done before, for some time. But I made up the lost time in the Night: between 1 and 2 in the morning when I retired to bed.

12TH.

Began in the forenoon upon the third book of the Cyropaedia; Eliza Duncan, Miss Stevenson and Mr. Bil. Osgood spent the Evening here. Nancy has been very much in the dumps, these two or three days. I hope she is not offended with herself; for though she has many very great foibles (the lot of humanity) yet, upon the whole she is really a good girl.

13TH.

Mrs. Payson pass'd the afternoon here. A Daughter of Mrs. Sargeants who was a Coquettish young Widow, and married, about 9 months since; she is in some measure the arbiter of Taste

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and fashion here: and makes very smart and severe Remarks, upon every one, who does not happen to dress or dance, according to her Taste.

I went down with Nancy to Mr. Duncans, and was there all the Evening; there was considerable Company: the young Squire, as empty, as a Drum, though it must be said in his favour, that he is not very talkative. Mr. Tim Osgood, who return'd yesterday from Newbury, where he went to carry Miss Knight. Mr. Duncan, said, he was an ambitious man, for that he was doing all he could to be *Knighted*. Miss Stevenson, endeavours to say very witty things, and has an archness of look, as who should say, is not *that* excellent. There is perhaps a little affectation in the matter, but it is all very excuseable, in a Lady. We must always judge of persons and things from their qualities, relative to others of the same kind. In this Country where fortunes are almost universally very small, four or five hundred £ sterling, annual income is considered as a large fortune; in Europe, it is a very trifling one. Were our young Ladies generally remarkable, for great virtues, and very few and inconsiderable faults, one might with Reason be strict, and severe; but as the matter stands, we must entirely over look small, foibles,

Be to their faults a little blind,
Be to their virtues very kind,¹

for most of our damsels are like portraits in crayons, which at a distance look, well, but if you approach near them, are vile daubings. There are some indeed who like the paintings of the great masters, excite admiration more and more, the nearer, and the longer they are examined. A few such, alone can reconcile me to a sex, which I should otherwise, doubt whether to hate, despise, or pity most.

¹ Matthew Prior, "An English Padlock," [lines 78–79]; JQA has reversed the lines. A copy of Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions*, 2 vols. in 1, Glasgow, 1759, was owned by JQA at this time (MQA).

14TH.

I was up late last Night, to finish the fourth book of Horace's Odes; and found my Eyes, this morning very sore indeed, so that I could not write or read. Mr. Storer,¹ Mr. Atkinson,² and Mr. W. Smith arrived, at about 10 in the morning, and my time was

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taken up, in going about with them. Visited Mr. Stoughton for the first time: Mrs. Stoughton is by no means fond of this Town. The sudden transition, from London, to so small and retired a Town as this, where she has no intimate acquaintance, must be disagreeable. Solitude, can never constitute a man's happiness, much less a woman's. I imagine they will not continue in Town long. Mr. Thaxter, Eliza, and the gentlemen, dined here; I had a thousand Questions to ask, Charles Storer, and forgot three quarters of them, not knowing which to ask first. He brought me, my watch chain, and some Letters.³

¹ Charles Storer (1761–1829), distantly related to AA through his father's second marriage into the Quincy family, went to Europe in 1781 and lived with JA at The Hague in 1782 and in Paris 1782–1783 while serving as an additional secretary to the minister. Storer left the Adamses late in 1783, spending much of his time in England, but kept in contact through a series of letters to JQA during 1784–1785. He returned to America in Nov. 1785 (*Adams Family Correspondence*, 4:127; Storer to AA, 17 Oct. 1782; JA to John Jay, 25 Aug.

1785, LbC; AA2 to JQA, 24 Sept.–1 Oct. 1785, Adams Papers).

² John Atkinson, who married Elizabeth Storer, daughter of "Deacon" Ebenezer Storer and half-sister of Charles (Sibley-Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 12:213–214; Scrapbook, MHi:Elizabeth Hall Smith Papers).

³ The letters probably included at least the following: AA2 to JQA, 26 Aug.–13 Sept. 1785; JA to JQA, 31 Aug., 9 Sept. 1785; AA to JQA, 6, 12 Sept. 1785 (Adams Papers).

15TH.

Snowy weather all day. We attended however both the meetings. The forenoon text was from Isaiah VII. 13. And he said, Hear ye now, o house of David, Is it a small thing for you, to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Somewhat of a foul weather Sermon, pretty short, and upon a subject of which little can be made. The field for expatiating, was much wider in the afternoon from Acts X. 38. Who, went about doing good. Here the Christian Clergyman, can produce the example of the author of his religion to recommend the most amiable virtues, benevolence, and humanity, which have so often been inculcated by the Philosophers of every age, and sect, but None have so completely added example to Precept, as he of whom this was said. We went down to Master White's, in the Evening, and staid there a couple of hours.

16TH.

The gentlemen left us this morning for Portsmouth. The weather very cold. At home all day. Began the book of Epodes in

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Horace in the Evening. Between 1. and 2 in the morning before I retired. ⟨9⟩ 10 in the Evening, is the professed bed hour, here: but there are Circumstances, which 19 times out of 20 delay it, till after 11. and it is a disagreeable reflection to me, that from an useless, attention, and fear for me, so far from producing its desired effect makes me lose, at least one hour every day; besides the additional vexation of seeing myself suspected; all these things are however only for a time, and I am thankful, that, it is verging so fast towards its end.

17TH.

An extreme cold day. I regretted much, not having my thermometer with me, to see the Proportion, between the severity of the weather in St. Petersburg, and here. My Brother Charles, and Cousin Cranch, arrived here in the forenoon. They came yesterday from Braintree, as far as Andover. My Brother's coming, was the more agreeable, for being in some measure unexpected. We pass'd the Evening at Mr. White's. Eliza, went to the Assembly: the first this Season, because, it has been delay'd for some time, by the misfortune in Mr. Duncan's family. There has been a great complaining, among the old-womanish People in town, on this Subject: Superstition of some kind will prevail with mankind every where. Mr. Smith the minister of the Baptist Society in this Town, is violently opposed to dancing. It is in his mind, of itself an heinous sin. He has preached a Sermon himself, and hands about among his Parishioners, a printed one, inculcating this Principle, and there are many People, here, so warped in Prejudice, that they are really perswaded, they should incur the divine displeasure, as much by dancing, as by stealing, or perhaps, committing murder. Besides this there are many who, do not participate of the diversion, and are envious to see others amusing themselves. Their pretended reasons for disapproving an assembly are, that it is an idle expence, which many of the subscribers cannot afford; that it renders them unfit for business the next day, or that it makes them keep bad hours. This is nothing more, than meddling, in the affairs of other People, which mankind in general are too prone to. Some sillier than all the rest find fault, with the time of day, that is chosen, and an old woman, wisely told Mr. Shaw, that It was a dark purpose, and therefore they took a dark time. How one of

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the most innocent, and rational amusements, that was ever invented, can find, so many opposers is somewhat mysterious. But the mind of man is too often disposed, to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. However, the Subscribers wisely take no notice, of all these things, but go on, their own way, and despise all these senseless clamours.

18TH.

The severest day we have had this Season. Did not stir out of the house, all day. Nancy, perceiving, that the cold had very much abated went out, and dined: but when she return'd again in the Evening, discovered, that the Cold, had been rather increasing continually than otherwise. I could not write in the Evening, which was past in conversation with my Cousin and Brother.

19TH.

The Cold has not been so violent this day, as the two former. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, Miss Nancy and myself dined at Mr. N: Bradley's. This family is said to be remarkable for oddity. I was told I should have the greatest difficulty to keep my Countenance. There was indeed something singular in all of them, but nothing, that I thought very extraordinary. Every Nation has certain Customs peculiar to itself, and is not ridiculed for it. I do not see, why, every little singularity in a family should be laughed at.

I went after dinner to see Mr. Thaxter, at his office, and staid with him till 8 in the Evening, and pass'd my time very agreeably, as I always do, when with him alone. Mr. Harrod¹ was there, an hour or two: the first time I have ever been in Company with him. Studied the Epodes, in the Night; I do not admire them so much as the rest of their author's works. It would be much for his Reputation, I think, if some of them, were destroy'd, or left out of the Collections of his writings.

Much less can that obtain a place,
At which a virgin hides her face.²

No fame, can justify, such gross indecency as some of these Poems exhibit, and which if they came from any one else, would be called infamous. An officer who should behave, as a dastard,

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would not escape being broke, because upon former occasions, he had given proofs of great intrepidity.

¹ Joseph Harrod (ca. 1748–1828), whose daughter Ann married TBA in 1805.

² Abraham Cowley, "Ode. Of Wit," lines [45–46] (*Works*, 11th edn., 3 vols., London, 1710–1711, 1:4, at MQA).

20TH.

A Number of Ladies, drank tea here, and Judge Sargeant also. I went with Mr. Thaxter and my brother Charles, and spent the Evening at Mr. Osgood's. This is a very ingenious Sensible man, well versed in English Literature, and has had what here is called a liberal Education; which means, he has been through the University. We conversed upon subjects, which please me more than cards, or dress or scandal, upon history and upon a book publish'd about a year since, by Dr. Chauncy, upon *universal Salvation*.¹ His System is, that all mankind will finally be saved, and he pretends² to prove it, from the Scriptures. When the English Translation of the Bible tells us, that the wicked shall be cast into eternal fire, it does not render the original Idea. The greek word *εις αιωνα*, means an unlimited space of time: it sometimes signifies a century, and sometimes the life of man. Reason alone, will inform us, that the Goodness as well as the power of the Almighty require that all mankind should be saved, and if the authority of the Scriptures, is not opposed to this System, the Christian religion is undoubtedly, the noblest plan, that was ever followed by men. But even after the great and admirable reformatations, that have taken place within these three Centuries, there are many absurd, unnatural, and trifling articles, to which every sect of it are too much attached; great veneration is due to the holy writings, but it must be confessed, they have many Imperfections in the original Languages, and still more in the modern translations of them. The writings of Moses, subsisted, during a period of 3000 years, before the invention of printing, in the numerous Copies that were taken of them; many false words must have crept in, and in some passages may have altered entirely the original Sense. The Translators, may have mistaken, many places, and given Ideas which are not intended in the true Language. If therefore we find in the modern Translations of the Bible, Sentiments which are repugnant to Reason, we must suppose, that they are not of those, that are the truly

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inspired. In short Mr. Osgood said, when he first heard of Dr. Chauncy's Book, he had a great deal more to say against his System, than he had after he had read it. Although I have not seen the Book, as I have no Idea of a supreme being, that is not infinitely merciful, and good, as well as powerful, I cannot but admire every thing that tends to inculcate that Principle. Mr. Thaxter said, he fancied that opinion would gain ground very much within half a Century in this Country: and supposed it could not do any harm, if it was rightly understood.

¹ [Charles Chauncy], *The Mystery Hid from Ages and Generations, Made Manifest by the Gospel-Revelation: Or, The Salvation of All Men . . .*, London, 1784.

² Pretends: puts forward an explanation (OED).

21ST.

Finished the Epodes of Horace, and the third book of Xenophon's Cyropaedia. There is no poem of Horace's, that has ever pleased me more, than that which closes the odes: the Carmen Saeculare. The beauty of language, and of numbers seem very well united. And of all the kinds of verse, that are used by this Poet the Sapphic, I think has the most dignity. The Saecular Games were celebrated in honour of all the Gods, but this poem, is addressed wholly, to Apollo, and Diana: at least, very little is said of any of the rest. I do not know but it may be very presuming to think that The Cyropaedia, is a very childish thing. There are now and then, it is true some noble Ideas. But I do not see that any great improvement can be derived from reading it.

22.

The Weather has softened so much, that, it thaw'd last Night, and has, all this day. We had nevertheless in the forenoon, a Sermon, from, Psalm CXLVII. 17. who can stand before his cold. And a cold Sermon it was. The Subject indeed was such, as that much, was not to be expected from it, nor indeed was much made of it. It was however short, which is a very good Quality at this Season of the year. The afternoon text, from I Corinthians. III. 18. Let no man deceive himself, opened a much wider field for reasoning, and morality. The discourse pleased me much better. My Brother sat up with me; I began upon the first Book of the Satires,¹ which are upon a very different plan from the Odes. Close reasoning, sharp ridicule, and few ornaments are the

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Characteristics of this kind of Poetry. Ridicule, and even reasoning, may be made use of in an Ode, but it absolutely requires the most fragrant flowers of rhetoric, and Poetry to adorn it.

¹ JQA apparently also made at this time a translation of Horace's Satires; there is an undated fragmentary document in M/JQA/44 (Adams Papers, Micro-

films, Reel No. 239), which contains translations of Satires 1 and 3-10 of Book I, Satire 1 being incomplete; and Satires 1-8 of Book II, Satire 8 being incomplete.

23D.

Began upon Homer's Iliad, in the morning, and got through 50 lines. This author would be very easy to understand, was it not for the various dialects he makes use of.

Drank tea, and spent the Evening at Mr. McHard's; but as the Company was chiefly composed of young Ladies, of Course, there was nothing said, which may not be found in Swift's polite Conversation;¹ and I am sure there is nothing there, that deserves to be repeated. We play'd cards, till about 9, and then all retired.

¹ A *Complete Collection of Polite and Ingenious Conversation*, published under the pseudonym of Simon Wagstaff, Esq., good-naturedly satirizes through three dialogues the inane attempts at repartee of such characters as Miss Notable, Lord

Sparkish, and others. The examples of smart conversation offered, Swift's introduction declared, should fill every need of genteel people "met together for their mutual entertainment."

24TH.

Went over, with my Cousin and brother Charles, to dine with Mr. Allen at Bradford. A lame foot prevented Tom from going with us. Last Saturday, he turn'd his foot as he was walking, and disjointed three bones. So that he cannot yet walk.

Walker and Ebenezer Webster, formally a pupil of Mr. Shaw's dined with us: and an old gentleman by the name of Osgood¹ belonging to Andover, a very sensible man, and by the manner in which he conversed I judged he had been a traveller. There was after dinner, another Doctor Osgood,² came in: a young man very talkative I fancy: he reason'd more than half an hour to prove to Mr. Allen, that a minister without a fortune, did very wrong to marry; I thought his attempt was somewhat ill-timed.

Returning home we met the young Ladies from Master White's going to Johnny's. We escorted them; sat there half an hour: and came off.

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¹ Probably Joseph Osgood Sr., a physician at Andover (Ira Osgood, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of John, Christopher, and William Osgood*, Salem, Mass., 1894, p. 38–39).

² Possibly Dr. Isaac Osgood Jr., a son of the Haverhill merchant (Russell Leigh Jackson, "Physicians of Essex County," *Essex Inst., Hist. Colls.*, 84:182 [April 1948]).

25TH.

Dined with my Cousin, and brothers at Mr. White's; the young Captain¹ was there, a youth, who goes by that title because, he has assumed the man somewhat young. Peggy told me to write some Verses in her Pocket book, and after hesitating between a number of silly ideas, I at length pitch'd upon these, which are full silly enough.

Ah what avails it, to invoke the Muse,
To sing your praises as the Poets use,
Since t'would exhaust the richest flow of Verse,
One in a thousand Beauties to rehearse.

If it is but insipid flattery, it is no more than what every young Lady expects from Gentlemen; and what few of the Gentlemen refuse them.

My Cousin went with the Ladies to spend the Evening at Major Bartlett's. My brothers and I return'd home.

¹ That is, Capt. Benjamin Willis Jr.; see entry of 9 Dec. (above).

26TH.

This morning my Cousin and Brother left us, to return back to Braintree. The late thaw has made the roads very bad for them; but the weather has been agreeable, till the Evening, which is Snowy. Mr. Piper, a Clergyman, belonging to Wakefield in New Hampshire, spent the Night here; I felt not in so high spirits as I sometimes do, and much in a silent mood: so that I did not stay to hear much of Mr. Piper's Conversation.

27TH.

Finished the first book of the Satires, and began, the 2d. These I find no difficulty in, as I have translated them before.¹ Read in Locke's Essay upon the Understanding, in the afternoon; the whole of the first book is taken up in proving that there are no innate Ideas. A person should never pass judgment upon such

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points, or indeed any others that are the subjects of Contention, without hearing both sides of the Question: but he appears to reason in such a manner that I am very much inclined to think him right. It has been said, that his arguments to prove that the existence of a God is not an innate Idea, may be injurious, but they make no alteration in the reality, nor do they in the least invalidate, the evidence, of, what Nature cries aloud in all her works. This is the only idea, which I think might be contended for as innate; for as to those of a Virtue, justice &c. I conceive of nothing that can be answered to what he says upon the subject.

¹ JQA began earlier a written translation of Horace's Satires, containing only Satire 1 of Book I. He first turned it into Latin prose by transposing the order of words and then translated it phrase by phrase (M/JQA/42 [1783?], Adams Papers, Microfilms, Reel No. 237).

28TH.

Mrs. Shaw went over to Bradford in the afternoon, and pass'd it at Mr. Allen's. Read Locke, upon the Question whether the Soul always thinks: he endeavours to prove that it does not: he has not however satisfied me, so well as upon the Subject of innate Ideas. His principal argument is, the improbability, that we should think several hours together, and not recollect what it was we thought of. But it is beyond dispute that some men do both walk, and talk very rationally in their sleep and yet never recollect one Circumstance of it, and are entirely ignorant of it, unless told by Persons present, at the Time. Now, this being the case, it is no unreasonable argument, to say that if we are sometimes wholly insensible after waking, of what we did while asleep, it may be so always. But I take it this matter must always be somewhat obscure, because it cannot be demonstrated either way. The author seems to think that dreams, are no proof of the soul's being active, but supposed it may be caused by some faculty like that possessed by Beasts. This Idea is ingenious, but is not sufficiently proved true, to be admitted as an argument.

29TH.

Mr. Allen preach'd here to day. In the morning from Matthew VI. 33. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. I liked the Sermon well enough, all but this Sentence. The antecedent to

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which the pronoun relative *his* here refers, is *God*. Surely those of the hearers who had studied Grammar, were not to be told this, and those who had not were probably ignorant of the meaning affixed to the words, *antecedent*, and *pronoun relative*. I thought, his prayer was exceeding good. His afternoon discourse was from John XIV: 27: Peace I leave with you, my Peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. He seems to be fond of grammatical disquisitions, and talk'd about Synonymous terms, excepting that I was pleased with his speaking.

Very moderate weather, and exceeding fine; more adapted to the month of April, than to the present Season.

30TH.

Rain'd almost all day. Finish'd the first Book of Homer's Iliad, which is far more entertaining than the Cyropaedia; there is a vast deal of simplicity in the Poetry, but at the same time great dignity, and so much Nature, that it is not without Reason, that an English Poet has said of him,

To Study Nature is to study him.¹

I began in the evening a Letter to my Sister.²

¹ JQA was undoubtedly thinking of the following lines from Pope:

"Nature and Homer were, he [Virgil] found, the same.

Convinc'd amaz'd, he checks the bold design:

And rules as strict his labour'd work

confine,

As if the Stagirite o'erlook'd each line.

Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;

To copy nature is to copy them."

("An Essay on Criticism," lines 135-140).

² Letter not found.

31ST.

Began upon the 4th Book of the Cyropaedia. The wind at about noon, shifted to the North West, and grew cold very fast. Assembly Night, and as all the young folks in town were there, I staid at home. Nancy return'd at 12. o'clock from the Assembly.

Finished the Satires.

About 2 months longer, will put an end to my Residence here, and I shall then rejoice for more than one Reason.

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WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 1st. 1786.

Slept none last Night. Felt unwell all day. Went in the evening to Mr. White's but nobody was there: from thence to Mr. Duncan's where I found Mr. Thaxter, and the young Squire, about as opposite to each other as North and South. Mr. Duncan, talk'd a great deal about paper money times, and the amazing depreciation, of that Currency. Went from thence in to Mr. Osgood's, where there was all Mr. White's family. Says Mr. W. we have not seen you, before, this month. I said I had been at his house last week. But that was not this month. This was wit. Spent an hour with Mr. Thaxter at his office. Studied none in the Night.

2D.

Lecture day. Mr. Adams, Mr. Allen, and Master Parker,¹ dined here. I did not go. In the afternoon Eliza, finally came, and intends to stay here, as long as she remains in Haverhill; I imagine we shall both leave town about the same time. Mr. Thaxter came and spent an hour here in the Evening, which he seldom does, as he is a little too closely engaged in other business. He often reminds me of the lines in the *Conquest of Canaan* quoted, in page 240, of this volume.² They are I think very applicable to him.

¹ Presumably Daniel Parker, the Haverhill schoolmaster.

² See entry for 28 Dec. 1785 (above).

3D.

Drank tea at old Mrs. Marsh's. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw have, a very high opinion of this Person; and I believe a just one. She appears to me, to be ting'd with Superstition, but of such as can do no harm in the world, and may be greatly conducive to her own happiness. Was about an hour at Mr. White's, and afterwards at Mr. Duncan's; a numerous Company there. Mr. Moores, and Ab: Duncan came and spent the remainder of the Evening here. Felt low spirited but tickled my spleen, by reading Young's 6th. Satire in the love of Fame.¹

¹ "On Women" (Edward Young, *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion, In Seven Characteristic Satires*, London, 1728).

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4TH.

Dined at Mr. Osgood's in a large Company. 16 persons, at table. Mr. Larieu, a frenchman, and Mr. W. Greenleaf, were the only, that I was not before acquainted with. Mr. Larieu has been very unfortunate in losing almost all his Estate, by the failure of Mr. Fessenden, in this Town. Drank tea at Mr. White's, where, Eliza pass'd the Day. In the Evening I was conversing my aunt, upon the subject of *Courtship*, and that of *Self love*. Mr. Shaw was present when I said I thought, *Self*, was the ultimate motive of all actions, *good*, *bad*, or *indifferent*. He opposed the idea, and as I persisted in my opinion, he said he thought it a little Strange, that at 19 a youth should make such positive decisions, in opposition, to persons much older, than myself. I believe in answer I shew, too much warmth, as his charge was partly true. I fear I am too tenacious of many of my opinions, and what in itself is nothing, but as to the effect it has on mankind, is all; I still own, that I have not altered them, even after hearing them Reason upon the subject; unless I have really been convinced. It has made persons suppose I was obstinate, and dogmatical, and *pedantic*, as Mr. Shaw expressed himself, when if my heart deceives me not, I only wish to acquire information, and own my thoughts, without ever having an Idea, to wish other persons might adopt my Sentiments; it is not unpolite to think differently from a person older than yourself, but the unpoliteness lies in combatting his opinions. I wish to be more fully Sensible of this maxim, at times, when it is necessary to put it in practice. Reverence for age, is one of the most important and necessary qualities, a young man can have: and a deference to their sentiments, ought, apparently to be shown, even although, they were absurd and ridiculous. N.B. To think more upon this Subject.

5TH.

A Snowy day.

Two Sermons from Hebrews XI. 1. Now faith is the Substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. I should not conceive how one Sermon [could be made?] out of this text, much less two. However, what with faith, and the immortality of the Soul they were made out. That ancient and celebrated Poet Homer, had taken notice of a place, which he called $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$ ¹ and supposed it to be appointed the receptacle of good souls.

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Plato a great Philosopher had written a large treatise upon the Subject: and Cicero, says that if the opinion of the Souls immortality, be false, he owns himself happy to be in error. There was a great deal of Erudition shown here; but for my Part, I want neither the Authority of Homer, of Plato, nor of Tully, to be persuaded of a thing, which Nature speaks so plainly. A child was baptized, by the name of Sally Cogswell.

¹ That is, Hades.

6TH.

Finished the 4th. Book of the Cyropaedia; I shall have no more to do with this author while I remain here, and am heartily glad of it. It is not now, as in the first book. The Conquest of Empires is related, but in the same manner, that the trifles of the hero's childhood were. Gobryas appears to me to tell his story, just as a crabberly boy complains to his mother, that he has been beat, not like a sovereign, ardent to revenge the death of his Son: there appears moreover in this Romance, a very great degree of improbability. Human Nature must have been very different then from what it is now, if a short speech, could not only restrain soldiers from plundering, but make those of one Nation, tamely give up their prey to their allies.

7TH.

Drank tea, and spent the evening at Mr. Payson's. His lady, who has had two daughters¹ by a former, takes, as I believe, the shortest possible method to ruin them. She made one of them this evening, mimic, the peculiarities, of several respectable persons in town. The Child, would first examine particularly, to see if the persons she was to ape was not present, and when satisfied they were not, would imitate all their oddities, so as to raise the laughter of the Company, who must all at the same time suppose, that to morrow, they would themselves afford the same diversion to others. And this is an accomplishment! If such a Character in a person already grown up, is always hated and avoided, what ought our sentiments be, of one, who encourages it in a Child, and creates an habit which is as contemptible, as dangerous.

Leonard White took his leave of us. The Vacation ends to-morrow, and he returns to Cambridge.

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Began upon the second book of the *Iliad*: it is something very extraordinary to me, how the fondness for Antiquity can lead men (and women) of taste and learning to such extravagant partiality for the ancients, as it has in many instances. Madam Dacier,² went so far as to say that even the customs and manners of Antiquity, were as much better than those of modern times, as they were different. To be consistent she should have added religion too, for all the rest have their Source in that. I have been reading this day, that Jupiter the greatest of the Gods, revolving in his mind, how he might avenge, an injury of one man to another, by destroying thousands of innocent men, at length determines to send a deceitful dream, and frames, an impudent lye for the messenger to tell. What an idea, of the supreme being! Is it not a denial, of his wisdom, and justice, as well as of his Power? Surely our ideas of a God, are much more perfect at this Time. To say that this owing to no merit of our own, but to our having been favour'd with Revelation, is no argument against us, but on the contrary assigning the cause of our improvement. I shall continue to commit my Ideas on this subject to Paper; according as I have occasion.

¹ Sarah White and Mary Henley White (Dean Dudley, *History of the Dudley Family*, Wakefield, Mass., 1886–1894, p. 798–799).

² Anne Lefèvre Dacier, the distinguished Latin and Greek scholar and translator of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* (Hoefer,

Nouv. biog. générale). At this time JQA may have owned copies of the Dacier translation of the *Odyssey*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1717, and the *Iliad*, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1712, which have his bookplate (MQA).

8TH.

At home all day. Mr. True, was here all the afternoon. There is something extraordinary [about] this man: he has formerly been in a Melancholy state of mind, and appears even now to retain it, to a certain degree.

Finished the book of Luke in the afternoon.

9TH.

Miss Nancy, finally left us, this afternoon; and is going to board at Mr. Israël Bartlett's. Her going away, has given me pleasure, with respect to myself; as she was the Cause of many disagreeable little Circumstances to me. There was a Time, when I was Sensible of being more attached to her, than I should wish to

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be; to any young Lady, to whom I was not in any way related: but it was of very short duration; indeed her character is such, as acquires a persons affection, much easier than she preserves it. But her natural disposition which is excellent, and the many good Qualities which appear, even through the mist of foibles and errors that surround them, have given me, a friendship for her, and it appears to me, that the present step, must do her essential injury, unless she can immediately assume a fund of Prudence, which, I have never seen her make use of. With one third part of the Vanity she has, she would be exceeding amiable. All her principal faults proceed from that, which has been fostered and fanned ever since she was introduced into company; and she was then too young, not to be tickled, with the Admiration paid her by a number of real and feigned admirers, such as always follow a young Lady of Wit and personal Attractions.

Spent the Evening at Mr. Dodge's in Company with Mr. Thaxter, Mr. Bartlett, the two Mr. Osgoods and Major Starke. The Conversation was partly upon literary subjects, and partly upon religion, a topic Mr. D. is not averse to.

10TH.

Thaw'd all day. The winter seems in some measure, to be gone; very little snow remaining on the ground, and the weather much like Spring.

Finished the *Ars Poëtica* of Horace, with which his works conclude. Thus I have of late dismissed several books, but shall be obliged, rather to increase my diligence, than otherwise; as Mr. Shaw received this Evening, from Mr. Williams the Professor of Mathematics, and natural History at Cambridge, a Letter informing him that his Lectures begin, the 21st. of next Month; so that I shall be obliged to go, much sooner than I expected. I have a great deal yet to do; but hope to go through it as, I have already done, so much. The Clock has just struck twelve, Consequently a new day begins, I shall therefore close this for the present.

11TH.

Eliza spent the day at Mr. White's; went down and drank tea there, with Mr. Thaxter, who was here part of the Evening. Mr. Shaw preaches to-morrow at Boxford, and is to be supplied, by a Mr. Howe,¹ who came here this Evening. An extraordinary



13. THE PARSONAGE OF THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH OF HAVERHILL
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Character. He adopted a degree of familiarity, as soon as he came into the house, which, did not in any measure prejudice me in his favour. Indeed by the tenor of his Conversation I am led to Suspect his brain is a little crack'd but the singularity of his behaviour may be owing to the manner in which he has been educated and the Company he has kept. It is said that he carried himself through College, by working at wages as a farmer, at different times, so as to pay his bills, and to avoid being known he went by a feign'd name: this shows, a spirit of Ambition, and fondness for Study, which argue a mind above the common.

¹ Undoubtedly, Tillotson Howe, a Dartmouth graduate and minister in several northern New England towns. As JQA's entries for 12 Feb. and 5 March (below) make clear, Howe exemplified dozens of young men trained at Eleazar Wheelock's nursery for the New Light ministry (*Dart-*

mouth College and Associated Schools General Catalogue, 1769-1940, Hanover, N.H., 1940; Eliza Ann Gibson Stickney, *Reminiscences of Brownfield: Short Sketches from the History of the Town*, East Brownfield, Maine, 1901, p. 55-56).

12TH.

Mr. Howe, preached us two Sermons from John III. 3. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God. The text did not please me at first, and the tenets held forth, were pretty much such as I should have expected from this beginning. In the morning he said he would have us suppose, that we all wish'd and desired our own Destruction. In the afternoon we were told, that without grace, we could not believe, and without believing, we could not be saved; and that we could not acquire grace of ourselves; nor if we obtained it, was it owing to merit in us. An Impious System in my opinion. He said that an unregenerate man, supposing even he was admitted into heaven, could not be happy. This was quite a new Idea, to me. He illustrated it by a simile saying, a Swine, could never be happy, was he put into a Palace, elegantly furnish'd. He carried on this elegant simile for ten minutes. Another he made use of was still more ludicrous. A man could no more obtain grace, by works, than he could walk to get himself feet. At another time he said Adam's original sin, was imputed to all his Posterity. I know added he, this point is much contested, but my business is not to prove it here, and I shall therefore, take it for granted. This is a short way to prove anything, but, although he maintained a doctrine

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which appeared to me, opposite to common sense, as well as injurious to the supreme being; yet sometimes he would speak for a quarter of an hour at a time, with a great degree of energy and Propriety. Some parts were excellent, but the, *whole*, was but indifferent at best. Spent the Evening with Mr. Thaxter. Eliza, was unwell in the afternoon.

13TH.

Mr. and Mrs. Allen, came over and dined here. They carried away my Cousin with them. She purposes spending a week at Bradford.

Finished the second Book of the Iliad, the latter part of which is a tedious enumeration of the Ships, which might I think as well have been omitted. Pope's Translation of this, is surely an excellent Poem; but the Ideas, are often very different. There is indeed a simplicity in some Passages of Homer, which in a modern language would be ridiculous. At the description of a Sacrifice and an Entertainment Homer says, of the victim, they knock'd out its brains, cut its throat, and thrust a spit through it. How different from this, Pope's paraphrase is, may be seen in his Iliad II. verse 202 &c.¹ There are few of this Poet's original Pieces, in which it is not as plain to see imitation, as in the Homer.

¹ JQA wrote 202 for 502:
Their Pray'rs perform'd, the chiefs the
rite pursue,
The barley sprinkled, and the victim slew.
The limbs they sever from th'inclosing
hyde,
The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide.
On these, in double cauls involv'd with
art,
The choicest morsels lie from ev'ry part.
From the cleft wood the crackling flames

aspire,
While the fat victims feed the sacred fire.
The thighs thus sacrific'd, and entrails
drest,
Th'assistants part, transfix, and roast the
rest.

(*The Iliad of Homer*, transl. Alexander Pope, 4 vols., London, 1759, 1:99; this edition, in JA's Library at MB, contains JQA's earliest bookplate, which is inscribed with the date 1781).

14TH.

Snow'd all the morning. Young Mr. Willis arrived from Boston, and informed us that a vessel will sail from Boston for London, in the Course of this Week. I wrote all the Evening, and closed a Letter to my Sister.¹ Began the third book of the Iliad, and the Acts in the Testament.

¹ Letter not found.

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15TH.

The weather, very mild; it thaw'd all day. Spent the Evening at Dr. Saltonstall's; the first time I have been at his house, since I came to Town. The Doctor is a very Sensible man and an able Physician; but has a very disagreeable voice; a person accustomed to it, may not take notice of it, but at first it is almost intolerable. Finished my Latin Studies with the Andrian of Terence.¹ The Play is interesting, and many of the Sentiments are fine; but the unravelling of the Plot, is not very probable; indeed I might say it fails highly against the probability: not only in the Circumstance of the discovery itself which poets have often taken, and as it may well happen, is justifiable: but would a man, whose daughter had been shipwreckd sat silent without seeking for her. And why did not Phania, after being saved from a wreck at Andros, write to his brother, an account, of his Situation or if he could not write, inform him some other way, for Andros was not at a great distance from Athens, and probably there were often opportunities of sending from one place to another. *Many* other Circumstances, increase this improbability; but the Critic can never find Perfection, and the person that is willing to be pleased with what he reads, is happier than he who is always looking for faults.

¹ Terence's *Andria*: JQA probably used the Brindley edition of Terence's *Comoediae Sex*, London, 1744, p. 1-42 (at MQA), which he had purchased the previous April in Paris.

16TH.

Mr. Thaxter and Miss Nancy dined here. The latter appeared very different from when she lived here. She seem'd to feel under restraint, and obliged to behave with propriety, I cannot see, how persons think that provided they behave well in Company, it is of no Consequence, how they behave at home. I believe I never knew a young Lady, of whom I thought so differently at different times; and as my present disposition of mind is not much in her favour, I will say nothing.

17TH.

Began the 4th. Book of the Iliad. Here again the despicable beings, the Heathens made of their Gods appears very plainly. In

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a Counsel of the Gods, Jupiter begins with a bitter sarcasm, on purpose, as the Poet says, to raise the spleen of his wife. She raves like a fury, and then to appease her, he gives her the permission to destroy his favourite City, which of all others, had been the most pious to him. But he grants the favour, only upon condition that if he should take it into his head to destroy one of her beloved Cities, she should have no objection, and to this she readily assents. Enthusiasts in favour of the Ancients perhaps will say, that Religion is to be excepted, from what they admire them for and do not all relations from man to man, all our duties towards one another, and all the customs of Nations, flow from, Religion. And though it may be confessed that mankind in General, do not behave agreeable to the admirable Precepts, contained in the Christian System, yet they universally approve of them, and there are numbers of People who really follow them. A Man at this day, will not glory in avenging a trifling injury, by the slaughter of thousands. Nine men, in ten would heartily execrate the Idea. But the Reason, why such Complaints of the world's growing worse, have been made in all ages, I take to be this. Few men live long in the world without having suffered from baseness, and wickedness in others. They immediately lay to the whole race, those evil qualities they perceive in Individuals; but as they have received no personal injury from men that lived before them they form no antipathy against the race. They are prejudiced when they form the Comparison, and cannot therefore judge impartially.

Mr. Evans came to stay till Monday, and will preach for Mr. Shaw on Sunday.

Went down in the Evening to Mr. White's. There was a large Company of young ladies, and gentlemen there; for which Reason I stay'd but a little while there.

18TH.

All day within; the weather uncommonly mild. Mr. Thaxter spent the Evening and supped here. Began the 2d. volume of the Essay upon the human Understanding. There are many things, somewhat abstruse, in this book, and I have not at present time to read them with sufficient attention, but there is one thing, which I never heard of, and which surprized me. He seems to adopt the opinion of the transmigration of souls; and in a very

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long note, where he defends himself, against the bishop of Worcester, he rather enlarges upon it. All this is upon the subject of identity, which takes up a considerable part of the book.

19TH.

Mr. Evans preach'd in the forenoon from Luke XV. 18. 19. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee. And am no more worthy to be called thy Son: make me as one of thy hired Servants. In the afternoon the two ensuing verses. And he arose, and came to his father: but when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son. There is not perhaps in the whole Bible, a subject upon which a clergyman, can employ his talents more usefully. This Story naturally leads to the encouragement of all the virtues that adorn human Nature, and shows, in a striking light the terrible consequences of Vice. Mr. Evans had two good Sermons upon it; there was an apparent imitation of Yorick's,¹ but I did not like them the less for that. He did not take certain heads to his discourse, as is a general custom among our Clergymen; but I think like Mr. Osgood, who said he did not see what good a parcel of heads without any bodies, could do. The discourses were moral, and practical; and I prefer hearing none at all, to hearing those of any other kind. Mr. Redington, and Judge Blodget were here in the Evening.

¹ Laurence Sterne, *Sermons of Mr. Yorick*.

20TH.

Snow'd almost all day. In the evening I went over to Bradford, with my brother. Eliza, thought to be sure somebody was sick, that we came in such weather; stay'd a couple of hours: as I return'd I stopp'd in half an hour at Mr. White's.

21ST.

The weather cleared up in the Night; somewhat cold, and very windy. Mr. Evans set off in the afternoon for Portsmouth.

Finished the 4th. and began the 5th. Book of the Iliad. The 200

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last lines in the 4th. are much more difficult than any thing I have met with in Greek as yet.

22D.

Mr. and Mrs. Allen, and Eliza, stopp'd here on their way to Kittery, at about half after 8. I was not up. I cannot study in the morning, because there is always so much stirring; but when every body else in the house is in bed, I have nothing to interrupt me, so that I seldom retire before 1 in the morning, and rise, between 8 and 9. I have endeavoured to sleep less but have not been able.

The weather mild all day. Looks something like rain; which would make very bad travelling, and the Town less lively: Finished the second Volume of the Essay upon the human Understanding. There is much said in the latter end of the Book, concerning the real essence of things. He may be right in his conjectures, but I know not how far upon those Principles, Pyrrhonism,¹ might be carried; and perhaps, it is not a question of great Consequence, whether we know the real essence of things or not.

¹ The philosophical doctrine which claims the impossibility of attaining certainty of knowledge, first taught by Pyrrho of Elis, ca. 300 B.C. (*OED*).

23D.

Mr. Shaw went to the funeral of Mr. Wingate, formerly a Minister at Boxford. A Mr. and Mrs. Swift from Andover dined here. Mr. True, came home with Mr. Shaw, and will lodge here to-night. Read Guthrie's Grammar in the Evening. This is to me, at present a more entertaining study, than Locke; and does not require so close application.

24TH.

Another Snow storm; almost all day. Closed the Acts, in the Testament, and began the Romans. In the last Chapter of Acts, there is a Story, which, shows how far ignorance and prejudice, mislead the judgment of men. A Viper sticks upon St. Paul's hand, and the People, immediately suppose him to be a murderer, but as soon as they find he receives no hurt from it, they conclude he is a God. *Eventus Stultorum magister*,¹ says Livy,

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but if all those who judge of most things from the Event, are to be comprehended under that denomination, who would escape the charge of folly. But I think it the duty of Every one, to endeavour to be, as little as possible influenced by Events. As men, and their Actions, are really, either good or bad in themselves, and not according to their success; it is unjust to judge them upon any other Principles.

¹ "Nec eventus mode hoc docet, (stultorum iste magister est)," Livy, *The History of Rome*, Bk. 22, chap. 39 [line 10] (*Titus Livius Historiarum Libri qui Supersunt Omnes*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1769, 1:742, at MQA with JQA's bookplate and inscrip-

tion): "nor does the event only, that instructor of fools, demonstrate it" (Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, transl. D. Spillan and Cyrus Edmonds, 4 vols., N.Y., 1892, 2:809).

25TH.

Very pleasant, all day. A curious Event happened, at the last Assembly: a misfortune befel one of the Ladies; and a few days after, an scandalous Advertisement, was fastened upon a sign post. I have as yet heard no more, but I much suspect it will be attended in the End with some disagreeable Circumstances. Some persons can be taught prudence and Caution only by bitter experience. We expected Mr. Allen, with the Ladies back this Night, but yesterdays storm, probably prevented them. Mr. Thaxter was here, about an hour in the Evening.

26TH.

We had this day two very good Sermons, from II. Kings XXII. 20th. Behold therefore I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace, and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place and from Romans XII. 15. Rejoice, with them that do rejoyce, and weep with them that weep. The former, was an occasional discourse; the other was practical, and properly inculcated the virtue of participating, in the happiness and the griefs of others.

Spent the Evening with Mr. Thaxter. He has been unwell all day.

27TH.

Finished the 5th book of the Iliad; containing, the gallant actions of Diomed[es], who drives all before him; wounds two

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Gods, and pursues a third very closely. This part of the story is very interesting. Went in the evening, down to Mr. White's. Peggy, and Nancy Hazen, went to Salem this afternoon; to attend the Assembly there to-morrow, and return again on Wednesday.

Went in to Mr. Bartlett's, a few minutes. Found Eliza return'd when I came home. I Was much chagrined, at something I perceiv'd.

28TH.

Company to dine. Assembly Night. Went, with Eliza, but did not dance. There were 27 Ladies present, and about 20 Gentlemen. There were a number of strangers among the Gentlemen; I might make a number of sarcastic reflections, upon the manner of dancing, and appearance of several persons there; but I do not think it is a matter of sufficient importance to induce one, to laugh, at a person who cannot show the elegance of a dancing master; and if it is; as I did not dance myself, it would be unfair to laugh at those, who had they had the opportunity might have laugh'd equally at me. It is base to ridicule a person for any failing that is owing to no mental vice or foible.

There was one Lady present (Mrs. Payson) for whom I was anxious all the Evening: I feared she would; while she was *throwing* herself about, be taken with a different kind of *throes*. It is exceedingly imprudent for a Lady in that Situation to frequent such places. We returned home, at a little after 1. in the morning. I drank a dish of Coffee which kept me awake almost all Night. In the Evening I had some conversation with Mr. Larieu, and I was told, the Ladies, laugh'd at us, for the contrast, that we appeared to make. He is exceeding thin. This is an advantage in dancing. He did not miss once; and except, about an hour of interval, he was up, all the while I was there. I ask'd him, if he was not fatigued and warm; he said *j'ai un peu chaud, et je suis un peu fatigué, mais il n'y a pas une goutte de sueur dans mon corps.*

WEDNESDAY MARCH 1ST. 1786.

At home all day: Eliza, dined and passed the afternoon, at Mr. Duncan's. Mr. Thaxter went to Portsmouth upon business. Felt

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quite fatigued all day, though, I did not sit up, later than common last night. Retired at about 11.

2D.

Finished, the sixth book of Homer's Iliad in the forenoon, and shall go no further in it here. I admire this Poem, more, and more, though it must be confess'd the author now and then nods. It has however more, and more confirmed me, in the opinion that the world has vastly improved, even as, to sentiments since that time. In the last book, an instance occurs where a young warrior entreats Menelaüs to spare his life, but Agamemnon, kills him immediately, and old Nestor, highly approves the cruelty. Whenever the Greeks are exhorted by their chiefs, the arguments made use of, are, that if they are conquerors the wives, daughters, and fortunes of the Trojans, will be at their disposition. Now I will own, that in modern times there are examples of great Barbarity in War. But there are also many of humanity which among the ancients was thought inconsistent with war. But I will say no more, on this subject.

Mr. Thaxter return'd this Evening, though it has been either snowing or raining all day. He was not to come home till to-morrow; but gave two reasons for coming so soon: he did not mention a third, which I fancy, was as strong, as either of the others.

Storm'd hard in the night: was up after 1. in the morning.

3D.

I have often wish'd to hear the following Question discussed by persons well acquainted with the human heart. Whether any Person can at the same time, Love, and despise, another, of a different sex? I think the two sentiments not only can be, but very often are united: but I may mistake. No Love can be permanent, but what is founded on esteem; but there may be a temporary attachment to a person, who we are sensible is wholly unworthy of it, and such must be I imagine, all the Conquests of a Coquette who though she may be beloved by many, can be esteemed by none. This Character is so contemptible; that one would think no being blessed with any share of Reason ever could assume it. Vanity it is true, may be flattered for a Time; but it is soon doubly mortified, and when once the flower of

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Beauty is gone, they have nothing left to recommend them: but so much must suffice for the present.

4TH.

Eliza, spent the day at Mr. White's. Mr. Thaxter was here in the Evening. The weather very mild: a farmer, who was here in the Course of the day, said the river was very *ticklish*.

5TH.

Snow'd all the morning, but the air so mild, that it melted generally as it fell to the ground. Two Sermons from I. Corinthians X. 31. Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. The text in itself is good, but like most other texts of Scripture, has been shamefully abused. There was in this Sermon, as in many I have heard since I have been here, little, that I admired, and little, that I disliked. Liberality of Sentiment, cannot be expected from a Pulpit, on religious points. If a Clergyman ventures, not to be quite illiberal, it is the most he can do. While they exclaim against the Palpable absurdities of the Romish Church: they themselves fall into others equally ridiculous, and the never failing resource of texts from Scripture, is continually produced. There is a new System which carries the depravity of human Nature further, than, any I ever heard of, all arising from the text which Mr. Howe, who has adopted the plan, preach'd on three Sundays ago. I have several times discovered my abhorrence, of any Idea, of a divinity who should condemn men to everlasting torments, for what they could not in any measure help or prevent. I was perhaps too zealous; and a person who I suspect is inclined to the same uncharitable way of thinking, though he does not profess to be, used this Argument. Did I think it was possible I might be wrong? I did. Well; who of two Persons was most probably right, one who was merely a youth, who had not studied those things; or a man who had made them his chief (he might have said only) study for many years? But this proves nothing. Should a man, who for 50 years had studied nothing but the Proprieties and differences of colours, tell me that ebony and alabaster, were of the same colour I should think the assertion absurd, though I judge of colours only as they strike my Senses. I desire never to have an Idea, of a god, who is not infinitely good, and merciful, as well as powerful.

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6TH.

Mrs. Saltonstall, Mrs. Harrod,¹ and Betsey Duncan drank tea here. Mr. Thaxter remained part of the Evening. He is I think as much attached as I ever saw any body: and is an instance, of what has often been observed that men, free from any passion, can reason, upon them, much better than they can practice, when called to. Many times have I heard him declare his disgust at fondness shown by Husbands and Wives before Company: but now, he is behind hand to no person I am acquainted with. He cannot bear to see Parents indulgent to little children: perhaps, in three or four years I shall see him do like most other People in the same Situation.

¹ Anna Treat Harrod (ca. 1752–1832), mother of Ann Harrod, who later married TBA.

7TH.

Fine Weather, all day and very mild, yet the river is not so weak but what Teems and slays cross'd it.

This day Week, I am, to go to Cambridge. The nearer any Circumstance approaches; the greater is our Impatience of it. What two months ago, I did not think of once in a week; now comes to my mind almost every hour. Studied Watts in the Night.

8TH.

Mr. White's family, and Miss Sally McKinstry, drank tea here. This young Lady has been all the Winter at Boston; she is very genteel, and was it not for a little twist in the Position of her eyes, would be uncommonly handsome. Notwithstanding this blemish her Countenance, is pleasing, and frequently dimpled with a smile. She is sociable, but unfortunately I cannot be so with a stranger, and had not much Conversation with her.

9TH.

Mr. Shaw went over to Bradford, to Mr. Allen's Lecture. The river still remains in a dangerous situation; but freezes so much in the night, that the mildness of the day is not sufficient to break up the Ice.

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10TH.

Clear, but cold Weather. Went, and took a walk with Eliza, just before dusk, as far as the ship yard, we pass'd the Evening, at Mr. White's. Mrs. Moody and Miss Codman were there. The Latter is a Lady from Boston; not handsome, and appears to be in a poor State of Health. Mrs. Moody, is a widow, who, is fond of appearing young, and is what the french call *une jeune femme de 20 à 60 ans*. Miss Priscy McKinstry, and Nancy Hazen came in too in the course of the Evening. Nancy was very formal, and ceremonious to me, as she has been, uniformly, since she left this house. I was not displeased at it, and return'd it as much as I could. Where a person will not be upon terms of friendly intimacy; I wish never to be behind hand with him in Ceremony.

11TH.

Dined at Dr. Saltonstall's, with Mr. Shaw, Mr. Thaxter and Master Parker. Spent the Afternoon at Mr. White's. Mr. Thaxter was here in the Evening.

12TH.

Went all day to hear Mr. Smith. I had never heard him before. His text for the whole day was from Solomon's song II. 14. O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see, thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely. The discourse in the forenoon, was entirely taken up in a description of the Properties of the Dove, and how they Coincided with those of the Church of Christ. Its Innocence, it's Beauty chastity and cleanliness, and Swiftness, were all taken notice of, and some good practical observations were drawn from the subject in the afternoon. The remainder of the text was considered, but as he commonly is said to do, towards the latter end of the discourse he grew extremely vociferous, and it was a continued strain of declamation. As he preaches without notes, and with very little previous studying, his sermons do not shine in the disposition of his arguments. He often starts from his subject; and when embarrassed with any contested point, screaming, is his only resource.

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13TH.

The Day was employ'd in paying visits, and packing up my trunks. I went to Mr. White's, Major Bartlett's, Mr. Osgood's, Mr. Duncan's, and Mr. Dodge's. The weather very mild.

14TH.

At 7 in the morning, we mounted our horses, and went about half a mile up the River where a passage for a Boat was cut through, yesterday, as the Ice was so much weaken'd as made it dangerous to cross over it. We went in to Mr. Allen's, for about half an hour, and then proceeded before dinner as far as Wilmington. We arrived at Cambridge, a little after Sun set, much fatigued as the roads were but indifferent. The weather was mild.

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